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Hade Xáte



Editors' note

The articles express the opinion of the authors.

We would like to thank all our friends who have helped us in many ways

Copies of the previous issues of Hade are also available - please get in touch with us and we will send you one

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Sevgili
okuyucu,

Aylar
süren bir
ayrılığın
ardından Hade
dergisinin, tek hedefi

Kıbrıslı Rumlarla Kıbrıslı Türklerin
yeniden yakınlaşmasına yönelik çabaların
tanıtılması ve Kıbrıs nüfusunun iki büyük
grubu arasındaki diyalogun geliştirilmesi olan
ilk derginin yeni bir sayısı yeniden elinizde
bulunuyor.

Bu öncü ve zorlu bir çalışmadır. Ama bu zorlu
çalışma, son yıllarda hızlı ritimlerle gelişmekte
olan yeniden yakınlaşmanın çokyönlü ve
çokçeşitli etkinliklerinde güçlü bir dayanak
bulmaktadır. Bu etkinliklere son dönemlerde
Türkiye ve Yunanistan arasında yaşanmakta
olan yakınlaşma da yardımcı olmakta ve öne
çıkmasına fırsat vermektedir.

Dergimizin önünde niteliksel, tematolojik,
hacimsel ve yayın sıklığı bakımından
gelişmesine olanak verecek tahriklerin mevcut
olduğu bir gerçektir. Ama aynı zamanda bu bir
görevdir de. Bu yüzden bize yardım etmek
isteyenler çekinmeden gelebilirler. Acil
ihtiyaçlarımızın çeviri ve kompüter
kullanımında odaklandığını söyleyebiliriz. Ama
yine de her türlü yardıma kabulümüzdür.
Dergimiz demokratik, açık, sansürden uzak ve
çoğulcu bir yapıya sahiptir. Tıpkı yeniden
yakınlaşma hareketinde olduğu gibi.



Αγαπητή αναγνώστρια,
αγαπητέ αναγνώστη.

Μετά από
αρκετούς
μήνες
δυστοκίας, έχετε
στα χέρια σας ένα
καινούριο τεύχος του ΧΑΤΕ,

του πρώτου εντύπου, που έχει κεντρικό και
μοναδικό στόχο την παρουσίαση των
προσπαθειών, που στοχεύουν στην
επαναπροσέγγιση Τουρκοκυπρίων και
Ελληνοκυπρίων και στην ανάπτυξη του διαλόγου
μεταξύ των δύο μεγάλων ομάδων του κυπριακού
πληθυσμού.

Πρόκειται για μια δουλειά πρωτοποριακή και
δύσκολη, η οποία όμως ευρίσκει γερό στήριγμα
στην πολύμορφη και πολυποίκιλη
επαναπροσεγγιστική δραστηριότητα, η οποία
αναπτύσσεται τα τελευταία χρόνια με ταχύτετους
ρυθμούς. Τη δραστηριότητα αυτή βοηθά και
αναδεικνύει το τελευταίο διάστημα και η ύφεση και
προσέγγιση που παρατηρείται ανάμεσα στην
Ελλάδα και την Τουρκία.

Είναι σαφές ότι μπροστά στο περιοδικό
παρουσιάζονται διευρυνμένες προκλήσεις και
υποχρεώσεις για ανάπτυξη της ποιότητάς του, της
θεματολογίας του, του όγκου του και της
συχνότητάς του. Έτσι, όσοι θέλετε να το βοηθήσετε
ελάτε χωρίς να διστάσετε. Ειδικές επείγουσες, θα
λέγαμε, ανάγκες έχουμε σε θέματα μετάφρασης και
χρήσης ηλεκτρονικών υπολογιστών. Όμως κάθε
συμμετοχή είναι ευπρόσδεκτη. Το περιοδικό είναι
ανοικτό, δημοκρατικό, αποστρέφεται τη
λογοκρισία και επιδιώκει τον πλουραλισμό, όπως
αυτός εκφράζεται στο επαναπροσεγγιστικό κίνημα.

Peace-Cyprus.Org: Χρησιμοποιώντας την τεχνολογία για τα κτιστούν γέφυρες επικοινωνίας.

Ο οργανισμός Peace-Cyprus.Org [<http://peace-cyprus.org>] έκανε την εμφάνισή του στο ίντερνετ στις 16 Ιουνίου 2000. Σκοπός του είναι η χρήση της τεχνολογίας για την προώθηση των προσπάθειών που σχετίζονται με το κτίσιμο της ειρήνης στην Κύπρο. Η ομάδα αποτελείται από τέσσερις Κύπριους που ζουν στη Κύπρο και το εξωτερικό.

Το ίντερνετ και η τεχνολογία των ηλεκτρονικών υπολογιστών μπορούν να παίξουν ένα πολύ σημαντικό ρόλο στις προσπάθειες για το κτίσιμο της ειρήνης. Προσφέρουν τη δυνατότητα επικοινωνίας μεταξύ ανθρώπων οι οποίοι δεν μπορούν να επικοινωνούν σε προσωπικό επίπεδο και προσφέρουν ένα δυναμικό μέσο όπου νέες ιδέες γεννιούνται. Αναγνωρίζοντας αυτό το γεγονός το Peace-Cyprus.Org, έχει θέσει σαν βασικό στόχο την προώθηση της χρήσης της τεχνολογίας στις προσπάθειες για το κτίσιμο της ειρήνης στην Κύπρο. Προσφέροντας το περιβάλλον για όλους τους Κυπρίους ανεξάρτητα από εθνική καταγωγή, γλώσσα ή θρησκεία να εκφραστούν, το Peace-Cyprus.Org στοχεύει στην ενημέρωση σχετικά με διάφορες προσπάθειες που σχετίζονται με το κτίσιμο της ειρήνης και στην αύξηση της συμμετοχής σε αυτές τις προσπάθειες καθώς και στο να αποτελέσει ένα μέσο και εργαλείο για την οργάνωση νέων πρωτοβουλιών που σχετίζονται με το κτίσιμο της ειρήνης στη Κύπρο.

To Peace-Cyprus.Org φιλοξενεί ήδη κάποια νέα projects και ιστοσελίδες σχετικά με διάφορες δραστηριότητες ειρήνης καθώς και μια ιστοσελίδα με τον τίτλο Cyprus Peace-Building News όπου φιλοξενούνται καθημερινά ανακοινώσεις και ειδήσεις σχετικά με τις δραστηριότητες αυτές. Οι χρήστες έχουν τη δυνατότητα να στείλουν απο μόνοι τους σ' αυτή την ιστοσελίδα τα δικά τους σχόλια και ειδήσεις για τις οποιαδήποτε μελλοντικές δραστηριότητες.

Για περισσότερες πληροφορίες σχετικά με το <http://peace-cyprus.org> μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε μαζί μας στο: info@peace-cyprus.org

Το Peace-Cyprus.Org είναι η κοινή προσπάθεια των ατόμων που αποτελούν την ομάδα του peace-cyprus.org και η ιδέα αναπτύχθηκε αποκλειστικά μέσα από το ίντερνετ και συγκεκριμένα μέσα από το We-for-Peace mailing list. Σαν ομάδα το Peace-Cyprus.Org δεν είναι μέλος οποιαδήποτε κόμματος, οργανισμού ή οποιαδήποτε άλλο οργανωμένου συνόλου και ούτε υποστηρίζεται από οποιοδήποτε οργανισμό.

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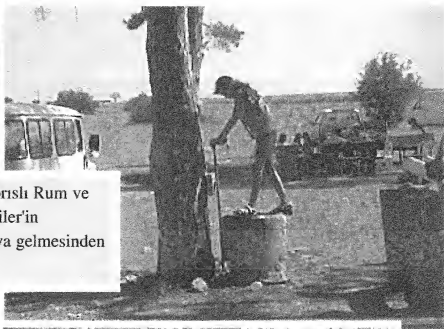
Πέραγμος 1η Ιουλίου: άλλα στην Κύπρο του χθες Η "μεγάλη συγκέντρωση των χωριανών"

Μια μακρά και επίπονη εργασία επανορθόγησης φθάνει (ή έφτασε, ανάλογα με το πότε διαβάζετε αυτό το κείμενο) στο απόγειό της. Σάββατο 1η Ιουλίου. Η "μεγάλη συγκέντρωση των χωριανών" είναι στο αποκορύφωμα μιας πλειάδας συναντήσεων "χωριανών", που πραγματοποιήθηκαν τα τελευταία χρόνια. Στην αρχή τόλμησαν μόνο μερικά χωριά. Ελληνόκυπριοι και Τουρκοκύπριοι κάτοικοι "μικτών χωριών" βρέθηκαν με διάφορες ευκαιρίες, κυρίως σε περιόδους "χαλάρωσης" της "πολιτικής επαγρύπνησης", στα χωριά όπου κάποτε έζησαν μαζί. Ακολούθησαν τους πρώτους τολμηρούς δεκάδες χωριά. Το Σάββατο 1η Ιουλίου συναντήσαν, αν όλα πάνε καλά - το κείμενο αυτό γράφεται την Τετάρτη 28 Ιουνίου- οι χωριανοί όλων των μικτών χωριών της Κύπρου. Στο Πάρκο της Ειρήνης, πάνω σ' ένα μεγάλο χάρτη της Κύπρου, θα σημειωθούν οι μικτές πόλεις και χωριά της πατρίδας μας και οι πάλοι ποτέ συμβιβαζόντες κάτοικοι τους θα ξανασυναντηθούν και θα τα ξαναπουν. Η επιστροφή στο παρελθόν είναι ίσως αδύνατη. Όμως η καλή πλευρά του, ή ακόμα και τα μαθήματα του "κακού" παρελθόντος, μπορεί να μας βοηθήσουν να φτιάξουμε ένα καλύτερο μέλλον.

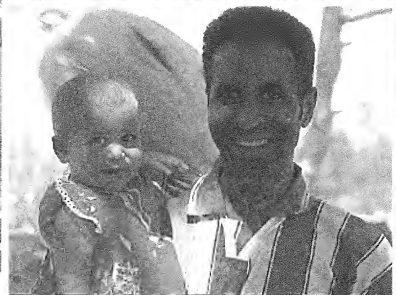
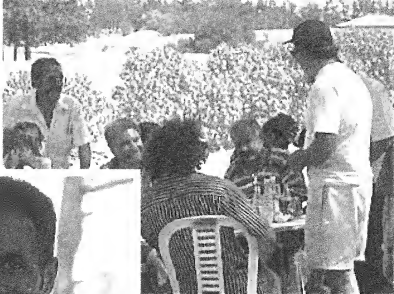
Συντονιστές της προσπάθειας είναι οι Νίκος Αναστασιού και Ουλούς Ιρκατ.

Bergama 1 Temmuz: Dünün Kırsına bir dalış "Büyük hemşeri buluşması"

Uzun ve zorlu bir yeniden yakınlaşma çalışması yolunda ulaşıyor (yada ulaştı, bu metnin ne zaman okunduğuna göre değişir). 1 Temmuz, Cumartesi günü gerçekleşecek olan "Büyük hemşeri buluşması" son yıllarda düzenlenen kalabalık sayıda buluşmanın doruk noktasını oluşturuyor. Başlangıcı bu ana cesaretle eden yalnızca birkaç köy olmuştur. Karma köylerde yaşamış Kıbrıs Rum ve Kıbrıs Türkler çeşitli fırsatlarla ve özellikle siyasal açıdan fethitke olma durumlarında gelişmelerin yaşandığı dönemlerde, bir zamanlar birarada yaşamış oldukları köylerde buluştu. Bu ilk cesurulan onlarca köy izledi. 1 Temmuz cumartesi günü herşey yolunda giderse -bu metin 28 Haziran, çarşamba günü yazılmaktadır- tüm karma köy sakinlerinin buluşma günü olacak. Barış Parkı'nda büyük bir Kıbrıs haritasının üzerinde ülkemizin karma şehir ve köyleri işaretlenerek eski sakinleri yeniden biraraya gelecek ve sohbet etme fırsatını bulacaklar. Geçmişe dönüş imkanı olabilir. Ama geçmişin iyi yanları, hafta "kötü" geçmişin hataları daha iyi bir gelecek kurmamızda bizlere yardımcı olabilirler. Bu organizasyonun başansı yolunda pekçok yeniden yakınlaşma aktivitesi emek verdi. Bütün bu köylere uzun uzun zamanlarını ayırdılar. Toplantının koordinatörleri, Nikos Anastasiou ve Uluş Irkoad



Κίσα süre önce Kıbrıslı Rum ve
Kıbrıslı Türk Dalililer'in
Bergama'da biraraya gelmesinden
fotoğraflar.



Φωτογραφίες από τη
συνάντηση συγχωριανών του
Δαλιού και της Ποταμιάς



Bi-communal Youth Festival

On Sunday 26th of March four bi-communal teenage youth groups organised a very successful festival that took place in the park area in Pergamos. More than 1000 persons attended, mostly young people from both communities. Festivities included singing by the bi-communal choir, dancing by Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot folklore groups, modern music by a bi-communal band, poetry reading by teenagers as well as other events. During the festival Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots gave blood samples for the case of six-year old Andreas Vasilou who is suffering from leukemia.

The four young organisers of this purely Cypriot event are:

Youth Promoting Peace (YPP) – a group recently formed that organised a similar event in February in Pyla.

Seeds of Peace (SOP) – its members attended camps in the US during the summers of 1998 and 1999

Youth Encounters for Peace (YEP) – its members communicate via internet and operate not only in Cyprus

Cyprus Youth for Peace (CYP) – the student club of the American Academy of Larnaca.

Brief account of events as witnessed by Adonis Florides in words and still photos:

The picnic area of Pergamos is a beautiful place. It was my first time there. It is actually within the boundaries of the bases just next to the TC village of Pergamos. When we arrived there the place was already packed with people - mostly young. I knew that these young people had to face many problems in order to organise everything. There was even no electricity in the area and they had to borrow electric generators. But they did manage to set up a platform, loudspeakers and everything else needed for such a festival. The adjacent communities did a lot to help them.

At its peak point according to my estimation people reached a number of 1500 -2000 in their vast majority young people. I have the impression that TC's were more than GC's. It was a very moving experience. The essence I think was expressed in the words of one young student " We deserve a better future than what the paranoia of the previous generations has bequeathed us...".

It was something between a picnic and a concert. People meeting each other, laughing, joking, singing and dancing. I witnessed a meeting between two young girls who have been communicating through e-mail for several months but had never met each other until that day. There was a lot of teenage fun and I felt at a certain point that I did not belong there, in fact I was so jealous of them. I laughed with those 20 or so young guys climbed on an old car having such fun driving up and down, or those young TC's singing and dancing and having a bath with beer.....!!!!

Then in a more silent corner a blood donation unit. The tragic figure of Andrea's father next to a priest thanking personally all those GC's and TC's who volunteered to donate blood. I could see a bitter/tragic smile on his face. But he was there all the time, thanking everyone. He is such a gentleman.

The tune of the day was Tyllirga song. Almost each group, folk or hard rock played its own version. There was such an enthusiasm every time this song was heard. I have the impression that this song will one day become Cyprus's 'national' anthem or something.

The programme included short speeches by the representatives of the youth groups, songs by the bi-communal choir, followed by a GC folk group. I was so happy to notice that in two folk groups one GC and one TC there were two very young girls playing the violin, so far exclusively a man's job.

Then a bi-communal hard-rock group with Pink Floyd's "Teachers leave the kids alone" well the singer went a bit over the line at a moment when instead of "teachers leave the kids alone..." he said "teachers f...you!" ... Wild teenagers. But everybody seemed to be enjoying it, even their ...teachers who helped them organise the whole event.....) Then some little symbolic gestures, so important for the kids: hundreds of white balloons were and pigeons were released into the air and two girls exchanged olive trees which they will plant and take care of, so that these trees of peace will grow and cover the whole island. The Greens were also there. Some of them were MP's participating in the conference of European Green parties in Larnaca organised by the Cyprus Ecological Movement. I felt that they were happily surprised to witness such an event. They gave short speeches. The message was clear: "we can help you but it is you you have to solve the problem....". They hung around for quite a long time.

Then another folk dance group, a TC this time. The same music, the same dances but in somewhat different manner. Although the girls steps are the same there is a slight oriental touch in their movements in contrast to the more "reserved" style of the GG's. And that dance with the scythe was great. The young TC dancers are so keen with this dance and did some excellent acrobatic figures like twisting it and throwing it up in the air and then catching it again in tempo. Excellent.

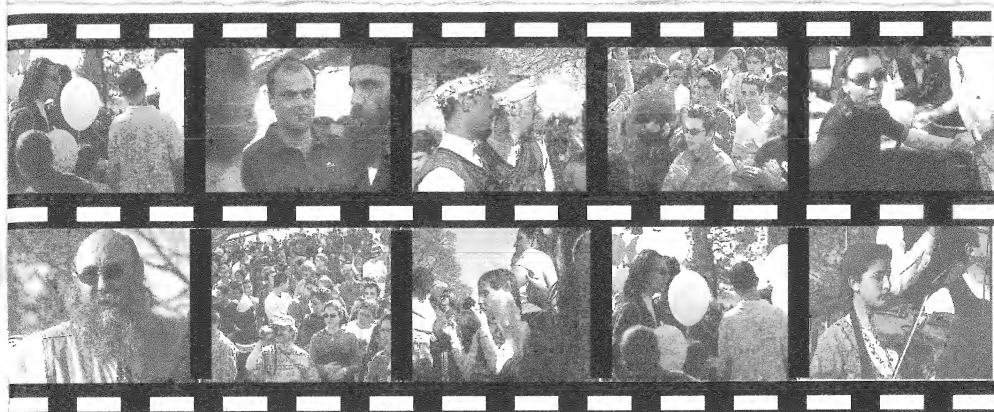
Then more folk groups and more rock bands. More Tyllirga song versions. From violin and accorderon versions to hard rock and post punk orchestrations.

Ice-cream vehicles all around, bambatz (candy-floss), Sandwich- and soft drink -sellers, while further on some Turkish Cypriot families were enjoying their picnic having their kebab. It was like a panayirin (fiest) and it was great.

Then the last battery of my camera gave out and I couldn't catch the best shots at the end of this beautiful afternoon where people were really enjoying themselves after the "official" programme. Well, as one of these beautiful young people told me " Don't worry next time. This is only the beginning"

It was a day full of hope.





Η συνάντηση αυτή δείχνει ότι, όταν οι κομματικοί φορείς θελήσουν να βάλουν τη σφραγίδα τους στις δραστηριότητες επαναπροσέγγισης, ο κόσμος συμμετέχει μαζικά. Ας ελπίσουμε ότι στο κορό θα μπουν κι άλλα κόμματα.

Bergama: Yurtsever Birlik Hareketi ile AKEL adeta bir umut panayını düzenliyor. Yurtsever Birlik Hareketi ile AKEL tarafından geçtiğimiz Mayıs ayında düzenlenen iki toplumlú büyük buluşma bir birlik mitingine dönüştü.

Her iki taraftan da "Barış Parkı"na akın eden binlerce kişi birlikte danslar edip şarkılar söyleyerek ama aynı zamanda da Kıbrıs sorununu ve çözümünün de konuşarak mutfağını ve iyimserliklerini birleştirtiler. Nitekim her yaklaşımla biliyor ki Kıbrıslı Rumlarla Kıbrıslı Türklerin her buluşmasında umut çoğalırken etnik ayrılımda marjinalleşiyor.

Sözkonusu buluşma gösteriyor ki partiler yeniden yakınlaşma etkinliklerine damgalarını koymak istedikleri zaman katılım kitleselleşüyor. Umut edelim ki oyuna başka partiler de katılacaktır.

ΟΜΙΛΙΑ Δ. ΧΡΙΣΤΟΦΙΑ ΣΤΟ ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙ ΕΠΑΝΑΠΡΟΣΕΓΓΙΣΗΣ Πέργαμος 7/5/2000

Φίλες και φίλοι,
Συναγωνιστριες, Συναγωνιστές,
Απευθυνό από μέρους του ΑΚΕΚ και του Λαϊκού
Κινήματος της Αριστεράς θερμό αγωνιστικό χαιρετισμό
φίλους, συνεργάσιους και κοινής πάλης για ανεξαρτήτη,
ενωμένη κοινή πατρίδα.

Είναι μεγάλη η χαρά μας γιατί κατορθώσαμε να
αργαστούμε μαζί με το Κίνημα Πατριωτικής Ενότητας
αυτο το υπέροχο λαϊκό πανηγύρι της επαναρπροσέγγισης,
της συνεισφοράς και της ανταλλαγής απόψεων για τις
κοινές μας ανησυχίες, για την καθημερινή ζωή, κύρια για
το πρόβλημα της μαρσιονικής της από πατρίδας μας.
Είμαστε χαρούμενοι και σύναμα κοινοποιημένοι γιατί αυτή
η εκδήλωση αποτελεί ένα βασικό κρίκο στην αλυσίδα που
χρόνια τώρα τεντωσούμε μέχρι να φτάσουμε στην
πολυπόλητη στιγμή της φυσιογνωμικής συμβίωσης και
συνεργασίας στο πλαίσιο μιας επανενωμένης κοινής
πατρίδας.

Εμείς του ΑΚΕΚ σκόπευαμε, αγαπητοί τουρκολόγοι και
συμπatriotes, απέναντί σας με το μέτωπο κούρασης
και κοπής στα μάτια γιατί αυτό το κόμμα, το κόμμα των εργαζομένων
ήταν και παραμένει ανειτήτος πόλεμος το σβόνισμο, υπερασπιστής
και εκφραστής των συμφερόντων των δυο δικαιωμάτων όλων των
Ελλήνων, Εκκλησιών, Τσιπικών, Μαρωνιτών, Αρμένιων και Λατινών.
Είναι το Κόμμα μας και το Λαϊκό Κίνημα που πρώτο και μοναδικό,
αμέσως μετά το πρόβλημα και την εισβολή του 1974, διακρίθηκε
και εδραίωσε την πολιτική της επαναρπροσέγγισης των δυο κοινοτήτων.
Επαναρροσέγγιση που θέλει την ιστορία να διδάσκει μέσα από βιβλία
που ενώ δεν θ' ανιωνόταν τα γεγονότα, τα συμβάντα και τα λόγια
παραλόγους δεν θα τα παραποιούσαν να υπακούσαν τις σκοπιμότητες
των σοβιετικών κύκλων στον τόπο μας αλλά και τα στρατηγικά και
πολιτικά συμφέροντα των ξένων που μας θέλουν χωρισμένους και το
νός μας διαίρεμένο και διαχωρισμένο για να βασιλεύουν αυτοί.

Αυτό που κάνουμε εμείς είναι η επαναρροσέγγιση που θέλει την
παίδα, τον πολιτισμό και την κοινωνική δραστηριότητα
να σεβόταν τη διαφορετικότητα μεταξύ των δυο
κοινοτήτων και των θρησκευτικών ομάδων του νησιού. Τη
διαφορετικότητα που εκπληγεί από την εθνική καταγωγή, τη
θρησκεία, τη γλώσσα, τον πολιτισμό, τα ήθη και τα
έθιμα. Οποτε στον κόσμο, αλλά και εδώ στην Κύπρο δεν
ήννε σεβαστή αυτή η διαφορετικότητα αλλά και τα
ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα και οι βασικές ελευθερίες
απορρίχθηκαν στις συγκρούσεις, στην αποστασιοποίηση και στις
εθνικές τραγωδίες.

Φαινομενικά πρωταγωνιστές των ιστορικών αυτών
εξελεύσεων είναι οι λαοί και οι κοινότητες που τους
συνθέτουν ενώ στην πραγματικότητα αντιστοιχισμένοι,
αποκομμένοι, παραγωγικοί και διαχωρισμένοι των εξελίξεων
είναι οι εκδοχές υπερασπιστικές διανομίες.

Η επαναρροσέγγιση που κάνουμε εμείς έχει σαν σκοπό να
μετατρέψει το λός, της δυο κοινοτήτες σε πρωταγωνιστές
που σεβόταν τη διαφορετικότητα, αντάμυν δαδωμένη από
το αρνητικό αλλά και το πολύ θετικό παρελθόν.
Πρωταγωνιστές δηλαδή της προόδου και της
εξάσκησης της συνεργασίας, της φιλίας και των κοινών
εργατικών και πολιτικών αγώνων και των πολιτιστικών

παράδοξων.

Φίλες και φίλοι,

Εμείς οι αριστεροί είμαστε από τη φύση μας ρομαντικοί. Γι' αυτό οραματιζόμαστε μια Κύπρο ενωμένη,
όπου θα επικρατεί η αγαπή, η συναντίληψη, η ελευθερία, η ανεξαρτήτητα, τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα και
η κοινωνική δικαιοσύνη. Μια Κύπρο χωρίς προσηγορίες, χωρίς το δόγμα των ανωμένων και των
εγκλωβισμένων, δίχως έπαυσης και έλδα στρατεύματα, μια Κύπρο για τους κυπρίους. Συνόδεσος
όμως των οραματισμών μας η πιο προγενέστερη, η πιο βαθύτατη και η πιο άρνηση του δόγματος
πραγματικότητα πρέπει να παραμερίσουμε με τον κοινό αγώνα μας αρκετά και σοβαρά θέματα.
Πρέπει ν' ανταπεξέλθουμε το εμπόδιο του σβόνισμο που δηλητηριάζει συνειδήσεις, πρέπει ν'
αντιπαλέσουμε τη φιλοσοφία και την πρακτική της διαχώρισης.

Χρειάζεται ν' ανταπεξέλθουμε την αδελλακή στάση του κ. Ντενκτάς που επιμένει, στη διαχώριση με
τη μορφή της Συνομοσπονδίας δυο κυριάρχων κρατών. Χρειάζεται ν' αντιμετωπίσουμε την
αντισυνομοσπονδιακή κούραση στην Εκκλησιαστική Πίστη. Χρειάζεται να ληφά λόγω να
υπερασπιστούμε με συνέπεια την ομοσπονδιακή λύση η οποία θα διασφαλίσει πλήρως αυτονομία στις
δυο κοινότητες, κοινή συμμετοχή στα Ομοσπονδιακά όργανα, πολιτική και οικονομική ισότητα, με τα
ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα και τις βασικές ελευθερίες αναγνωρισμένα και διασφαλισμένα. Η βάση
για τέτοια λύση υπάρχει. Είναι τα ψήφισμα του ΟΗΕ και οι προτάσεις τους, είναι οι Συμφωνίες Κορυφής.
Είναι ακόμα η πορεία ένταξης της Κύπρου στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, είναι η βελτίωση των
Ελληνοτουρκικών σχέσεων.

Κατά τη δική μας αντίληψη η πορεία και η ένταξη της Κύπρου στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση έχει νόημα μόνο
αν βοηθήσει θετικά, αν γίνει αυτό που λέμε καταλύσει για επανένωση της Κύπρου, για λύση βίωσης
και δικαιο. Όσο για την βελτίωση και ομαλοποίηση των σχέσεων Ελλάδας-Τουρκίας εκτιμούμε πως δεν
είναι δυνατό να δώσει τα ποδομένα θετικά αποτελέσματα αν συνεχιστεί η επισημική της αποσύνδεσης
της προόδου και της λύσης του Κυπριακού από τη διαδικασία που άρχισε και βρίσκεται σε εξέλιξη.

Διατυχώς τα νέα που μας έρχονται από τη Νέα Υόρκη και τα άλλα κέντρα απόφασης που
αυτοκρατορικά αποφασίζουν μόνο στα εξελίξεις να το Κυπριακό δεν αλλάζουν το σπινγκό και δεν
στέλνουν μηνύματα αισιοδοξίας για απόλυτο του αδιεξόδου.

Εμείς όμως δεν απογοητευόμαστε. Συνεχίζουμε τον αγώνα μας για τη δημιουργία των προϋποθέσεων
εμπνευστικής διεύθυνσης του προβλήματος. Συνεχίζουμε τον κοινό αγώνα για μια Κύπρο πραγματικά
ανεξαρτήτη, κυρίαρχη, ενωμένη, ομοσπονδιακή και αποστασιοποιημένη. Μια Κύπρο κοινή πατρίδα όλων
των παιδιών της, Εκκλησιών, Τσιπικών, Αρμένιων, Μαρωνιτών και Λατινών.

Συνεχίζουμε με συνέπεια και με πάθος τις προσπάθειες να κάνουμε την επαναρροσέγγιση μέρος της
κοινοπραξίας μας ζωής. Γιατί η επαναρροσέγγιση είναι μέρος του αγώνα μας για ενωμένη ομοσπονδιακή
και ευημερούσα Κύπρο.

AKEL GENEL SEKRETERİ DIMITRIS HRISTOFIAS'IN PİLE'DE YENİDEN YAKINLAŞMAMA ŞÖLENİNDE YAPTIĞI KONUŞMA.

Değerli dostlar

Değerli müttefik arkadaşlar,

AKEL ve Sol halk hareketi adına sizleri başgimsiz, birleşik ortak bir
yatam için sıcak dostluk, işbirliği ve ortak mücadele duygularıyla
selamlıyorum

Bir arada olmayı, günlük yaşamımıza ve özellikle de bölünmüş
vatandaşlarımız altı ortak endişelerimiz ve düşüncelerimizle orlaya koyup
paylaşmayı sağladığınız yeniden yakınlaşma amaçlı bu özel halk şölenini
Yurtsever Birlik hareketi ile birlikte düzenlemeyi başarmaktan büyük bir
sevinç duyuyoruz. Sevinçliyi, aynı zamanda bu etkinlik için
arzuladığımız birleşmiş ortak vatandaşlar çerçevesinde doğal yaşam ve
işbirliği içinde yaşam sürecinde uzun yıllardır benidir verdirdiğimiz uğraşların
temel halkalarından birini teşkil etmesinden dolayı da memnuniyet
duyuyoruz.

Sevgili Kıbrıslıtlar vatandaşlarımız, biz AKEL'iler sizin karşınıza
altınmaz açık duyuruyor ve gözlerinizi içine bakabiliyoruz, çünkü bu
parti, emekçilerin partisi sözünce karşı açıldı bir mücadele verdi ve
vermeye devam ediyor ve tüm Kıbrıslıların, Kıbrıslıların,
kibrislilerin, Maronilerin, Ermenilerin ve Latiflerin ortak çıkarlarını ve
halklarını savunucu oldu. Partimiz ve yığın örgütlerimiz herkesten önce
ve yalnız başına 1974 darbe ve işgal, içinde hermen sonra iki toplumun
yeniden yakınlaşması politikasını ileri etti ve bu politikayı yagıladı
geçirdi. Yeniden yakınlaşma yaşanan olayları ve geçmişin yanlışlarını
tarifli kitapları aracılığı ile öğretmesini isteyen bunları, ülkemizdeki
söyentist çevreleri ve bizi ayrı tutup bizi yönetebilmek için adımı
bölünmüş ve taksim edilmiş olarak tutmak isteyen yabancıların
çıkartlarına hizmet için tahrif etmeyecektir.

Biz adanın iki toplumu ve diğer dinsel gruplarının etnik kökenlerinden,
dillerinden, dillerinden, kültürlerinden gelenek ve geleneklerinden
kaynaklanan farklılıklarına, eğitim, kültür, sosyal faaliyetlerine saygı
gösterimlerini talep eden yeniden yakınlaşma savunuyoruz. Dünyada
ve burada Kıbrıs'ta bu farklılık ve bunun yanı sıra insan haklarına ve
temel özgürlüklere saygı gösterilmediği durumlarda çatışmalar yolu
apıldı, kan döküldü ve emek taraktarı yagıldı.

Bu tarihsel gelişmelerin görüldüğüde bağrı olunculan farklı ve olan
düşünce toplumlarıdır. Oysa gerçek senaryoları yazanlar, rejisörler ve
gelişimleri biçimlendirler emperyalist güçlerdir.

Bizim hedefimiz, halkı, iki toplumu, farklılığı saygı gösteren, değerinin
olumsuzluklarını ve geçmişin olumsuzluklarını dersler çıkararak
baş rol oyuncusu konumuna getirmektir. Yani işbirliği, dostluğu ve
ortak emekçi mücadeleleri, ile kültürel gelenekleri ilet götürüp
kaldırılacak baş rol oyuncusu konumuna getirmektir.

Değerli dostlar,

Biz sol doğamız gereği romantizist. Bunun için de sevinçli, ortak
anlayış, özgürlük, bağımsızlığı, yagınsızlığı, insan haklarını ve sosyal adaletin
egemen olacağı birleşik bir Kıbrıs düşünüyör. Göçmenlerin, yabancı
askerlerin, yerleşiklerin olmayacağı, Kıbrıslılar için bir Kıbrıs. Bu
vizyonumuzun reel dünya bağlıyoruz. Bu vizyonumuzun
gerçekleşebilmesi için ortak mücadelemizle birçok ciddi sorunu
aşmalıyız. Bilinçleri zehirleyen söyentiz kavramlarını ve taksimin
felsefesi ve pratigi ile mücadeleyi etmeliyiz.

iki egemen devletlin konfederasyonu biçimi ile taksimde ısrar eden
Denktas'ın uzlaşmazlığı, ile mücadeleyi etmeliyiz. Kıbrısın tarafa
federasyon karşıt çevrelerin propagandası ile mücadeleyi etmeliyiz.
Kısaca iki toplumun genis bir özerkliği, federal organlarla ortak
kalktım, işyeri ve ekonomik eşitliği sağlayan ve insan hakları ile temel
özgürlükleri tanıyan bunları eden federal çözümünü ilet bir şekilde
savunmalıyız. Kıbrıs'ta böyle bir çözümün temelleri vardır. Bu temeller
Birleşmiş Milletler kararları ve doruk atılmışlardır. Dahası Kıbrıs'ın
Avrupa Birliğine tam üyelik süred ile Yunan-Türk ilişkilerinin
iyileşmesidir.

Bizim anlayışımıza göre Kıbrıs'ın Avrupa Birliği süreci ve tam üyeliğinin
Kıbrıs'ın yeniden birleşmesinde, adli ve kalıcı bir çözümde ulaşmasında
katalizör bir rol oynaması durumunda bir anlam taşıyacaktır. Yunanistan
ile Türkiye'nin ilişkilerinin gelişsin normalleşmesinde ise bağlayan ve
gelişmekte olan sürecin Kıbrıs sorununda ilerleme sağlanmasında ve Kıbrıs
sorununun çözümündün koparılması yönündeki ısrarlarına devam
edilmesi durumunda çok arzulanan olumlu sonuçları veremeyeceği
görüldüğüde.

Ne yazık ki New-York'ta ve Kıbrıs sorunundaki
gelişmelerde belirsizliği rol oynayan diğer karar merkezlere gelen
haberler saygı şahnenin değirdiğimizi gösteriyor ve kıymızın aşılması
yönünde iyimser mesajlar veriyor. Fakat biz yeniden hayal kırıklığı
kaynıyoruz. Sorunla ilgili çözüm konuşmaları, yaderat için
mücadeleye devam ediyoruz. Gerçekten başgimsiz, egemen birleşik,
federal ve akırdan anladığımız bir Kıbrıs için ortak mücadeleye devam
ediyoruz. Bu Kıbrıs tam Kıbrıs'ın çocuklarını, Kıbrıslıların,
Kıbrıslıların, Ermenilerin, Maronilerin ve Latiflerin ortak vatani için
mücadele ediyoruz.

Yeniden yakınlaşma günlük yaşamımız bir parçası haline getirmek
in uğraşlarımızla ilgili ve aradım bir şekilde devam ediyoruz. Çünkü
yeniden yakınlaşma birleşik, federal ve müreffeh bir Kıbrıs
müdalesinin parçasıdır.



2000 yılı Pile'de gerçekleşen iki büyük dostluk partisiyle başladı.

Pile... Ocak 2000... Barış Hareketi dostluk partisi düzeniliyor.

Şubat 2000... İlk partiyi gençlik festivali ve ağaçlandırmaya etkinliği izliyor. Buluşma mekanı. Kıbrıs Rum tarafından gelirken ölü bölgenin başladığı nokta. Kıbrıs Türk tarafından gelirken ise ölü bölgenin bittiği nokta. Kısacası Kuzey ile Güney'in birleştiği nokta. Arzu yada düş vizyonerliği olarak da olsa Kıbrıslı Rum ile Kıbrıslı Türk'ün buluşabildiği nokta. Ölü bölge mi? Keşke hayatımız böyle bir ölü bölge olsaydı. Fotoğraflar kendiliğinden konuşuyor.

To 2000
μήνη με 2 μεγάλα
πάρτι φίλιας στην Πύλα
**Πύλα, Γενάρης 2000, πάρτι
φιλίας του Φορέα για την Ειρήνη.
Φεβράριος 2000, πάρτι φίλιας των νεαρών
παιδιών και δέντροφύτευση.** Χώρος
συνάντησης: Εκεί που ξεκινά η νεκρή ζωή, όταν
έρχεται από την ελληνοκυριακή πλευρά. Εκεί που
τελειώνει η νεκρή ζωή, όταν έρχεται από την
τουρκοκυριακή πλευρά. Εκεί που ενώνεται ο βορράς
με το νότο. Εκεί που μπορεί να συναντηθεί, έστω και
σαν επισκέπτης της επιθυμίας ή του ονείρου ο
ελληνοκύπριος με τον τουρκοκύπριο. Νεκρή ζωή: Ας
ήταν η ζωή μας μια τέτοια νεκρή ζωή. Οι
φωτογραφίες μιλάνε από μόνες τους.



Ερtesi Gun:

Kıbrıs Elenleri i Türkleri, Kıbrıs sorununun çözümünden sonra, Kıbrıs halkının bir bütün olarak iyiliği için başı içinde birarada yaşayabilir ve gerektiği gibi işbirliği yapabilirler mi?

Bu yabancıların ve hatta kafı sayıda Kıbrıslı'nın da, Kıbrıs'ın geleceği ile Kıbrıs sorununun çözüm perspektifleri hakkında, düşünürken çok sık sordukları bir sorudur. Çoğu, bu soruyu iyi niyetle ve iki toplumun onlarca yıldır birbirlerinden uzak yaşıyor olmasını bu arada aralarında düşmanlık duyguları ürettiğini dikkate alarak gündeme getiriyorlar. Diğerleri soruyu yapay olarak ortaya atıyorlar, çünkü bilinclerinin derinliklerinde bugün mevcut durumu iki toplumun, bir devlet, bütün bir Kıbrıs toplumu içinde birlikte yaşamamacağı felsefesiyle, Kıbrıs'ın taksimini savunuyorlar.



Panayotis Dimitriu
Demokratik Seferberlik
Partisi (DİSİ) Lefkoşa,
8 Ocak 2000

Ancak sorunun iyiniyetle mi, kötü niyetle mi sorulduğundan bağımsız olarak, bu kaygı mevcuttur ve soru yanıtlanmalıdır.

Kıbrıs sorunu çözümünün doğası, herşeyden önce iki toplumun zihniyeti, duyguları, uygulamaları ve yaşam şekillerinde gerçekleşmesi gereken değişimin temel unsurudur. Çözüm yaşayabilir olmalı ve görünmelidir. Yaşayabilir olabilmesi için ise dengeli ve bugün artık her adlı çağdaş devletin siyasi icnili olan insan haklarını koruyucu olması gerekir.

Nasıl olursa olsun, bulunacak çözüm, toplamlardan biri veya ötekisi için birtakım avantajlara sahip olacak. İki toplumun siyasi liderleri tarafından, adamızın yeniden bütünleşmesi, Avrupa'ya üyelik v.s. gibi bir çözümün sağlayacağı temel avantajlara dikkat edilip, bunlar değerlendirilmez, aksine çözümün içereceği fonksiyonel ve diğer zaafiyetlerin yıkıcı istisması olursa, Cumhuriyet'in inanından sonra ortaya koyduğumuz bozucu davranışın tekrarı yaşanacaktır.

O halde öncelikle, bulunacak çözüme, her iki toplum yanında "anavatanlar" tarafından da inanç ve saygı gerekecek. Bu önsart olmazsa, iyisimi, Kıbrıs sorununa çözüm imzalanmaması, çünkü o zaman son yanlış birincisinden kötü olacaktır.

Kıbrıs Elenleri ve Türkleri herşeyden önce gençlik arasındaki duygular konusunda ise; başta Kıbrıs halkının bir bütün olarak

çektiği acıların günahını da taşıyan eski nesil tarafından geçmiş yaralanın sanılması için çalışmaya gerekecek. Genelde insan doğası yanında, bir bütün olarak Kıbrıs halkının kültürü, hemcinslerimize karşı dostluk unsurunu içeriyor ve bu, sadece iki toplumun yeniden yakınlaşmasının değil, toplumsal arkadaşlık ve işbirliğinin de güvencesini oluşturuyor.

Milliyetçiliğin aşılmasında, Kıbrıs'ın AB'a üyeliğiyle hakim olacak Avrupa ruh, siyasi anlayış ve zihniyetleri, öyle bir değiştirecektir ki Kıbrıs halkının (Elen-Türk) hem bugün hem dünkü durumunu anlamakta zorluk çekilecektir.

Halklar birbirlerine karşı düşmanlık duygularıyla doğmuyorlar. Düşmanlık duygulan elbette bir halkın liderlikleri tarafından ötekine karşı yapılan hatalar ve haksızlıklardan doğar. Ancak halklar sonsuza dek savaş durumunda kalamazlar. İngilizler, Fransızlar, Almanlar tüm Avrupa halklarıyla, Bulgarlar Elenlerle uzlaşıyor. Elenler aşama aşama Türklerle uzlaşıyor.

Bugün uluslararası ortam, iki toplumun birbirlerine açtığı yaraların aşılmasına yardımcı oluyor. Bulunacak çözümden olması gereken düzeltici, tedavi edici ayarlamaların, zihniyetin değişmesi ve hoşgörüslülüğün terk edilmesine yardımcı kesindir. Uzlaşmadan sadece birkaç hafta sonra, toplumsal, coğrafik, ekonomik ve ticari olarak yeniden bütünleşen Lübnan örneği ihtilafli tarafların, ortak kader ile ortak geleceğın onları zorunlu olarak ortak bir vatana bağımı kıldığı olgusuyla uzlaşabilecekleri dersini veriyor. Herşeyin üniversalleşmesi çerçevesinde, etnik ve dini farklılık, artık bölünme unsuru olamaz.

Karşılıklı saygı ve hoşgörü, insanların birlikte yaşam temelinin oluşturuyor ve bu unsurları, çözüm sonrası Kıbrıs toplumunu karakterize edecek kesindir.

Geleceğin kazanılması için geleceğe inanan, geçmişte yaşamak isteyen değil, gelecek vizyonu olan liderler gerekir.

Kıbrıs Türkleri ile Elenleri, çözümünden sonra geleceğe inanmış ilhamlı ve geniş görüşlü liderlere sahip olma mutluluğuna erişirlerse, Kıbrıs ile bütün olarak Kıbrıs halkı için parlak bir gelecek kurabileceklerdir.

Η επόμενη μέρα

Mπορούν ή δεν μπορούν οι Ελληνόκυπριοι και οι Τουρκοκύπριοι να συμβιώσουν ειρηνικά μετά από τη λύση του Κυπριακού προβλήματος και μάλιστα να συνεργαστούν, όπως πρέπει, για το καλό του Κυπριακού λαού σαν συνόλου;

Είναι ένα ερώτημα που πολύ συχνά οι ξένοι, αλλά και αρκετοί Κύπριοι ακόμη, υποβάλλουν, όταν προβληματίζονται για το μέλλον της Κύπρου και τις προοπτικές λύσης του Κυπριακού.



Παναγιώτης Δημητρίου
Αναπληρωτής Πρόεδρος
Δημοκρατικού
Συναγερμού Λευκωσίας,
8 Ιανουαρίου 2000

Πολλοί εγείρουν το ερώτημα καλόπιστα, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη ότι για δεκάδες τόσα χρόνια οι δυο κοινότητες ζουν μακριά η μια από την άλλη και ότι καλλιεργήθηκαν στο μεταξεί εχθρική αισθητήρα ανάμεσα τους. Άλλοι, θέτουν το ερώτημα υποβολιμαία, γιατί ενδόμυχα υποστηρίζουν τη διχοτόμηση της Κύπρου, που βασίζεται ακριβώς στη φιλοσοφία ότι, όπως είναι σήμερα η κατάσταση, οι δυο κοινότητες δεν μπορούν να ζήσουν μαζί σε ένα κράτος, σε μια ενιαία κυπριακή κοινωνία.

Ανεξάρτητα, όμως, εάν το ερώτημα τίθεται καλοπροαίρετα ή κακοπροαίρετα ο προβληματισμός υπάρχει και πρέπει το ερώτημα να απαντηθεί.

Η φύση της λύσης του Κυπριακού αποτελεί πρώτα απ' όλα βασικό στοιχείο για την αλλαγή που πρέπει να επέλθει στη νοοτροπία, τα αισθήματα, τις πρακτικές και τον τρόπο ζωής των δυο κοινοτήτων. Η λύση πρέπει να είναι και να φαίνεται βιώσιμη. Και για να είναι βιώσιμη πρέπει να είναι ισορροπημένη και να προστατεύει τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα, που αποτελούν σήμα του πολιτικού ευαγγελίου κάθε ευνομιόμενης σύγχρονης πολιτείας.

Όποια λύση και αν βρεθεί, θα έχει για τη μια ή την άλλη κοινότητα κάποια μειονεκτήματα. Αν από τους πολιτικούς ηγέτες των δυο κοινοτήτων δεν προσεχθούν και εκτιμηθούν τα βασικά πλεονεκτήματα που θα παρουσιάζει μια λύση, όπως είναι η επανένωση του νησιού μας, η ένταξη μας στην Ευρώπη κλπ, και αν' αυτού υπάρξει ισοπεδωτική εκμετάλλευση των λειτουργικών και άλλων ουσιαστικών αδυναμιών που θα παρουσιάζει η λύση, τότε θα έχουμε μια επανάλληψη της καταστρεπτικής συμπεριφοράς που επεδείξαμε μετά την ανακρίση της Δημοκρατίας. Άρα θα χρειαστεί πρωταρχικά πίστη και προσήλωση στη λύση που θα βρεθεί και από τις δυο κοινότητες αλλά και από τις «μητέρες πατρίδες». Αν δεν υπάρχει αυτή η προπόθεση, καλύτερα να μην υπογραφεί λύση του Κυπριακού, γιατί τότε η έσχατη πλάνη θα είναι χειρότερη της πρώτης.

Όσον αφορά τα αισθήματα μεταξύ Ελληνοκυπρίων και Τουρκοκυπρίων και προπαγάνδας μεταξύ της νεολαίας θα χρειαστεί δουλειά, από πλευράς κυρίως της παλαιότερης γενιάς, που φέρει και τις αμαρτίες των δεινών, που υπέφερε ο Κυπριακός λαός σαν σύνολο, ώστε να υπάρξει επώλυση των παρελθοντικών τραυμάτων του συντομότερο δυνατό. Η φύση των ανθρώπων γενικά, αλλά και η κουλτούρα του Κυπριακού λαού σαν συνόλο εμπεριέχει το στοιχείο της φιλικότητας έναντι του συνανθρώπου μας και αυτό αποτελεί εχέγγυο, όχι μόνο της επαναρπροσέγγισης των δυο κοινοτήτων, αλλά και της κοινωνικής συναναστροφής και συνεργασίας.

Το Ευρωπαϊκό πνεύμα της υπέρβασης των εθνικιστικών διαχωρισμών, που θα επικρατήσει με την ένταξη της Κύπρου στην Ευρώπη, θα αλλοιώσει τις πολιτικές αντιλήψεις και νοοτροπίες σε βαθμό που να απορεί τότε κάποιος, αν ο Κυπριακός λαός - Ελληνοκύπριοι και Τουρκοκύπριοι - είναι αυτός που είναι σήμερα ή που ήταν χθες.

Οι λαοί γεννιούνται με εχθρικά αισθήματα έναντι αλλήλων. Τα εχθρικά αισθήματα, βέβαια εκκολάπτονται από τα λάθη και τις αδικίες που τυχόν διαπράχθηκαν από τις ηγεσίες ενός λαού έναντι του άλλου, όμως δεν μπορούν οι λαοί να μένουν σε εμπόλεμη σχέση στους αιώνες των αιώνων. Οι Άγγλοι συμφιλώθηκαν με τους Γάλλους. Οι Γερμανοί με όλους τους Ευρωπαίους λαούς. Οι Βούλγαροι με τους Ελληνες. Οι Έλληνες συμφιλώνονται σταδιακά με τους Τούρκους...

Το διεθνές περιβάλλον βοηθά σήμερα στην υπέρβαση των τραυμάτων, που οι δυο κοινότητες προκάλεσαν η μια στην άλλη. Οι διαβρωτικές, θεραπευτικές ρυθμίσεις, που πρέπει να εμπεριέχονται στη λύση είναι βέβαιο ότι θα βοηθήσουν στην εγκατάλειψη της μαλλομλοδοξίας και στην αλλαγή της νοοτροπίας. Το παράδειγμα του Λιβάνου, που λίγες μόνο εβδομάδες μετά τη συμφιλίωση επανενώθηκε κοινωνικά, γεωγραφικά, οικονομικά και εμπορικά, διδάσκει ότι οι αντιπαράσταστοι μπορούν να συμφιλιωθούν, δεδομένου ότι η κοινή μοίρα και το κοινό μέλλον τους κρατούν αναγκαστικά δεμένους σε μια κοινή πατρίδα. Η διαφορετικότητα, η εθνική και η θρησκευτική δεν μπορεί να αποτελεί πλέον, στα πλαίσια της παγκοσμιοποίησης των πάντων, στοιχείο διάλυσης.

Ο αλληλοσεβασμός και η αλληλοανοχή αποτελούν τη βάση συμβίωσης των ανθρώπων. Και αυτά τα στοιχεία είναι βέβαιο, ότι θα χαρακτηρίζουν τη μετά τη λύση κυπριακή κοινωνία.

Για να κατακτηθεί το μέλλον χρειάζονται ηγέτες, που να πιστεύουν στο μέλλον. Χρειάζονται ηγέτες με όραμα για το μέλλον και όχι ηγέτες που να βέλουν να ζουν στο παρελθόν.

Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι και Ελληνοκύπριοι αν ευτυχίσουν να έχουν μετά τη λύση εμπνευσμένους και ευρύνους ηγέτες, που να πιστεύουν στο μέλλον, θα μπορέσουν να κτίσουν χαμηρό μέλλον για την Κύπρο και για τον Κυπριακό λαό σαν σύνολο.

Ηelsinki Zirve Αναlaşmalan, Yunanistan-Türkiye-Kıbrıs üçgeni siyasi manzarasına, ilgililerce uygun şekilde değerlendirilmesi ve yapıcı tarzda yararlanılması gereken önemli yeni olgular dahil ediyor. Ancak bu makalede dikkatimi, durumu, Kıbrıs'tan yeniden yaklaşımclar veya sadece yaklaşımcların bakış açısını teşhisi üzerinde toplayarak, buna paralel olarak, yaklaşımın her halükarda, önümüzdeki yıllarda egemen siyasi meyil olmasa da Kıbrıs, Türkiye ve Yunanistan'daki siyasi yaşamın önemli benliğini oluşturacağını dikkatimden kaçırmayacağım.

Son iki onyıll boyunca Kıbrıs'taki yaklaşımcların korkunç tecrit koşulları içerisinde çalışması gerekli. Birçok kez hainler, Batı'nın veya "öteki" tarafın s. piyonları damgasını yediler. Ayrıca faaliyetlerini, liderliklerini elinde diplomatik yedek koza veya daha da kötüsü, iç siyasi hedeflerin kuklası haline döndürülen siyasi



Kostis Ahnitis

manevralara sınırlı oldukları durumlar az değildir. Erkek ve kadın önemli sayıda Kıbrıs'ın, kanımca çoğu çok romantik bir yurtseverlik, enternasyonalizm ve başarılı dürtüsüzle çok zor koşullarda; geçmişteki birlikte yaşam tarihi deneyimine ve sonuç alıcı olması da milliyetler ile millî merkezlerin taksimci faaliyetine gösterilen direnişe eklenen bir Kıbrıs'tan yeniden yaklaşım tarihi inşa ettikleri yerinde duran bir gerçektir. Ancak bu noktada somut olmak istiyorum. Maruz kalabilecekleri eleştirilere rağmen AKEL ve CTP partilerinin inancında şu temel olgu devam ediyor: İki parti, birlikte yaşam fikrini hem kendi sahalalarında hem daha geniş bir çevrede canlı tuttular. Böylece yeniden yaklaşım fikri toplum içinde marjinal değildir. Aksine "doğal" bir siyasi tezi oluşturuyor. Yani daha önce sözünü ettiğim, yeniden yaklaşımcların tecrit, toplum değil, iletişim arayan ve iktidar merkezleriyle ilgili. Elbette iki büyük sol parti de bunların bir parçasıdır ve hence onlara yönelilebilecek meşru eleştiriler, seçimlerde, yaklaşımcları olmayan partilerle işbirliği yapılabilmek için, zaman zaman yeniden yaklaşımcları bir kenara bırakmış

Οι συμφωνίες Κορυφής του Ελσίνκι εισάγουν σημαντικά νέα δεδομένα στο πολιτικό τοπίο του τριγώνου Ελλάδα Τουρκία Κύπρος, τα οποία βέβαια θα πρέπει να σταθμιστούν ανάλογα και να τύχουν μιας εποικοδομητικής εκμετάλλευσης από τους ενδιαφερόμενους. Στο κείμενο αυτό όμως θα εστιάσω την προσοχή μου σε μια ανάγνωση της κατάστασης από την οπτική γωνία των Κυπρίων επαναρπροσεγγιστών ή απλώς προσεγγιστών, χωρίς παράλληλα να διαφεύγει της προσοχής μου ότι η προσέγγιση κατά πάσα πιθανότητα θα αποτελεί σημαντική συνθήκη της πολιτικής ζωής, αν όχι και κυρίαρχη πολιτική τάση στην Κύπρο, την Τουρκία και την Ελλάδα τα επόμενα χρόνια.

Οι Κύπριοι λοιπόν προσεγγιστές χρειάστηκε να εργαστούν στη διάρκεια των τελευταίων δυο δεκαετιών μέσα σε συνθήκες τρομαχτικής απομόνωσης, και όχι λίγες φορές στιγματισμένοι ως προδότες, πονία της Δύσης ή της "άλλης" πλευράς κλπ ή οδηγήθηκαν, αρκετές κατά την άποψή μου φορές σε πολιτικούς ελιγμούς, που μετέτρεπαν τη δράση τους σε διπλωματικό εφεδρικό χαρτί στα χέρια των ηγεσίων τους ή ακόμα χειρότερα σε υποχείριο εσωτερικών πολιτικών στοχεύσεων. Παραμένει ότι ένας σημαντικός αριθμός Κυπρίων, ανδρών και γυναικών, αδούλωτος τις πιο πολλές φορές, πιστεύει, από ένα ρομαντικό πατριωτισμό ή διεθνισμό ή ειρηνισμό, μέσα σε πολύ δύσκολες συνθήκες οικοδόμησαν ήδη μια ιστορία της κυπριακής επαναρπροσέγγισης η οποία προσετέθη στην προηγούμενη ιστορική εμπειρία της συνύπαρξης και της αναποτελεσματικής έστω αντίστασης στη διχοτομική δράση των εθνικιστών και των εθνικών λεγόμενων κέντρων. Σ' αυτό το σημείο θέλω, ωστόσο, να είμαι πολύ συγκεκριμένος. Τα ριζικά όποιες κριτικές, οι οποίες μπορούν να γίνουν έναντι του ΑΚΕΛ και του Τουρκοκυπριακού Ρεπουμπλικανικού Κόμματος, παραμένει εις πίστη τους ένα θεμελιακό δεδομένο: τα δυο κόμματα κράτησαν ζωντανή την ιδέα της συνύπαρξης στους χώρους τους, αλλά και ευρύτερα. Είναι η ιδέα της επαναρπροσέγγισης δεν είναι περιωριακή μέσα στην κοινωνία, αντίθετα αποτελεί μια "φυσιολόγic" πολιτική θέση. Δηλαδή, η απαμόνωση των προσεγγιστών στην οποία αναερέθιστη προηγούμενως, δεν αφορούσε την κοινωνία αλλά τα Μέσα Ενήμερωσης και τα κέντρα εξουσίας. Μέρος των οποίων είναι βέβαια και τα δυο μεγάλα κόμματα της



Kostis Aznitis

HELSINKI'DEN SONRA YENİDEN YAKINLAŞMA

veya "sınırlama altına" koymuş olmalarıdır. Ancak sağ partilerden etkilenen çevrelerde veya EDEK içerisinde, yeniden yakınlaşma kararsızlık yaratıyor ve marjinal fenomen olarak kalıyor. Buna rağmen, DİSİ tarafından bir yeniden yakınlaşma bürosu kurulduğunu da kaydediyoruz.

Helsinki kararlarına dönelim. Onlarca yıldır ilk kez, Yunanistan, Türkiye ve Kıbrıs arasında başlan olasılığı büyük, bir süknun çerçevesi yaratılması prosedürü ile karşı karşıyayız. Üç ülkede her türlü değişim meyllini mahsur tutan tarihse engeller artık uluslararası çerçevede görünüyordur. Bu nedenle özünde rüzgar ilk kez olarak Kıbrıslı yeniden yakınlaşmacılardan yana esiyor. Önerilen, siyasi sürece ve Kıbrıs sorunun çözümüne olduğu kadar, etnik veya diğer kimlik tartışmalarının göğüslenmesi alanındaki siyasi düşünce ile eylemin, benzeri sorunların çözümü için Avrupa sahasında mevcut çabalara "adaptasyonuna" esaslı katkı olanakları içeren çok önemli bir faaliyet alanı açılıyor. Yeniden yakınlaşma, zorunlu olarak, genel ilkesel açıklamalar ve "bayrağı zamana karşı yüksekte tutuyoruz" mağrur tutumunu bir şekilde terk ediyor ve direkt siyaset alanına giriyor. Bundan, yeni yükümlülükler ve göğüslenmesi gereken tehlikeler doğuyor.

Çizmek istediğimiz tabloyu tamamlamak için, siyasi gelişmelerin biraz önünde gideceğiz. AB üyelik müzakerelerine Kıbrıs Türk makamlarının da katılımı zaman meselesidir. Ajanda 2000'de Avrupa siyaseti dile getirilmiştir. Bu siyaset Helsinki anlaşmalarıyla da daha çok baskı olanaklarıyla amaçlanıyor. Yunanistan Başbakanı Kostas Simitis'in basın sorumlusu Yorgos Pantayias kısa süre önceki bir söylevinde de, yeniden yakınlaşmacı faaliyet istikametleri verdi. Yunanistan ile Türkiye'de ilerletilenlere denk istikametler... Kıbrıs Elen medyasının "S-300'leri",

Türkiye'deki Avrupa odaklı etkinlikleri, analizi gazeteci üslubuyla izlemeye başladılar.

Yeniden yakınlaşma akımının, önmüzdeki dönemde genişleyeceğini, daha canlılık ve ilgiyle karmakanşık bir hal alacağını ancak aynı zamanda denetimini, hedeflerinin sıraya konmasını, gelişme temposunun belirlenmesini v.s.s. hedefleyecek bir diplomatik faaliyetler alanı haline geleceğini sanmış olduğuna kesin bir keşide öngörebiliriz.

Benim önerim, etnik liderlikler diplomatik savaşının, yeniden yakınlaşmacı akım düzeyinde tekrar üretilmesinden mümkün olduğu oranda kaçınılmazdır ve tehlikelerden söz ederken temelde bunu kastediyordum. Kıbrıs'ta her iki toplumda da, farklı derecelerde, herşeyin, özellikle ulusal konularda çok bunalıtlı bir monolitik iktidar sisteminin parçasını oluşturuyor olmasına rağmen, henüz düşülmeyeceğimiz düzlenmeler, fikirler ve dinamikler sağlanabilecek yeni atmosfer içerisinde bu kez, mevcuttan ötesinde fikirler ile girişimler üretme olanaklarına sahip, bağımsız bir sivil hareket (vatanşas hareketi) kurulması yönünde çaba sarfedilmesine değer.

Geleneksel liderlikler ne kadar çabalarsa, çabalarının zorlanacak, bocalayacak ve tikanacaktır. Bundan başka eğer gelecek çalıacaksa onu, vatandaşlar ve bu vatandaşların arasından da bölünmeye neden olanlar değil, ama maruz kalarlar çalıştıracaktır. Özünde dünyanın mağlupları yarını inşa etmeye çağılıyorlar ve çağrıya uyulması gerekiyor. Çünkü özünde bu koşullar altında başka çözüm yolu yoktur.

Η ΕΠΑΝΑΠΡΟΣΕΓΓΙΣΗ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟ ΕΛΣΙΝΚΙ

Αριστερές, Η νόμιμη κριτική, την οποία νομίζω θα πρέπει να δεχτούν, είναι ότι έβραζαν κάποιες στιγμές την επαναπροσέγγιση κατά μέρος ή "υπό περιορισμό", για να μπορούν να συνεργάζονται με μη προσεγγιστική κόμματα στις εκλογές. Μέσα στους χώρους όμως που επηρεάζονται από τα δεξιά κόμματα ή την ΕΔΕΚ η επαναπροσέγγιση προσκαλεί αμφισβήτηση και παραμένει περιθωριακό φαινόμενο.

Σημειώνουμε πάντως και την ίδρυση Γραφείου Επαναπροσέγγισης από το ΔΗΣΥ.

Ας επιτρέψουμε όμως στις αποφάσεις του Ελσίνκι. Για πρώτη φορά εδώ και δεκαετίες βρισκόμαστε μπροστά σε μια διαδικασία δημιουργίας ενός πλαισίου ύφεσης ανάμεσα στην Ελλάδα και την Τουρκία και την Κύπρο με μεγάλες πιθανότητες επιτυχίας. Οι ιστορικές αναστολές, που στις τρεις χώρες εγκλωβίζαν κάθε τάση αλλαγής φαινόταν πλέον εκτός διεθνούς πλαισίου. Επομένως για πρώτη φορά οι Κύπριοι επαναπροσεγγιστές έχουν ουσιαστικά τον άνεμο υπέρ τους. Μπροστά τους ανοίγεται ένα τεράστιο σημαίας πεδίο δράσης με δυνατότητες ουσιαστικών παρεμβολών στο πολιτικό γίγνεσθαι και στην επίλυση του Κυπριακού, καθώς και στην "ενωμίωση" της πολιτικής σκέψης και δράσης στον τομέα της αντιμετώπισης των εθνικών ή άλλων αντιθέσεων ταυτότητας με τις προσπάθειες που υπάρχουν για τη λύση αντίστοιχων ζητημάτων στον ευρωπαϊκό χώρο. Κατά κάποιο τρόπο η επαναπροσέγγιση εγκαταλείπει υποχρεωτικά το χώρο των γενικών δηλώσεων αρχής, της περιφάνειας "κρατάρια κόντρα στους καιρούς ψηλά την σημαία" και μπαίνει στο χώρο της άμεσης πολιτικής. Απορρέουν απ' εδώ καινούριες υποχρεώσεις και κίνδυνοι προς αντιμετώπιση.

Για να ολοκληρώσω την εικόνα που θέλω να δώσω, να προτρέξω λίγο των πολιτικών εξελίξεων. Η συμμετοχή και των τουρκοκυπριακών αρχών στις ενταξιακές διαπραγματεύσεις είναι θέμα χρόνου. Είναι ήδη δεδηλωμένη ευρωπαϊκή πολιτική στην ατζέντα 2000. Αυτή η πολιτική ακριβώς επιδιώκει με περισσότερες δυνατότητες πίεσης και από τις συμφωνίες του Ελσίνκι. Ο υπεύθυνος τύπου του

πρωθυπουργού της Ελλάδας Κώστας Σημίτης, Γιώργος Πανταγιάς έδωσε σε πρόσφατη ομιλία του κατευθύνσεις επαναπροσεγγιστικής δραστηριότητας. Κάτι ανάλογο με ότι προβλεπεται στην Ελλάδα και την Τουρκία. Οι "πύραυλοι S-300" των ελληνοκυπριακών μίντια άρχισαν να παρακολουθούν με ύψος δημοσιογράφων αναλυτών τις ευρωκεντρικές εκδηλώσεις στην Τουρκία.

Νομίζω ότι με αρκετή ασφάλεια μπορεί να προβλέψει κάποιος ότι το επόμενο διάστημα το κίνημα επαναπροσέγγισης θα διαπλητυνθεί και θα αποκτήσει κι ένα ετερόκλητο χαρακτήρα (αλαλούμ), με περισσότερη ζωντάνια και ενδιαφέρον, αλλά ταυτόχρονα θα γίνει και πεδίο διπλωματικών δραστηριοτήτων που θα στοχεύουν στον έλεγχο του, την ιεράρχηση των στόχων του, τον καθορισμό των ρυθμών ανάπτυξης του κλπ.

Η δική μου εισήγηση, κι όταν προηγουμένως αναφερόμουν σε κινδύνους εννοούσα βασικά αυτό, είναι να αποφευχθεί όσο είναι δυνατόν η αναπαραγωγή του διπλωματικού πολέμου των εθνικών ηγεσίων στο επίπεδο του επαναπροσεγγιστικού κινήματος. Παρόλο ότι στη Κύπρο σχεδόν οι πάντες αποτελούν μέρος ενός μονολιθικού συστήματος εξουσίας, ιδιαίτερα ασφυκτικού ειδικά στα εθνικά θέματα και στις δυο κοινότητες, σε διαφορετικό βαθμό, θα άξιζε τον κόπο αυτή τη φορά, μέσα στο νέο κλίμα, το οποίο πιθανόν να δώσει ρυθμούς, ιδέες και δυναμικές που ακόμα δεν υποψιάζομαστε, να γίνει μια προσπάθεια σύστασης ενός ανεξάρτητου κινήματος πολιτών, με δυνατότητες παραγωγής ιδεών και πρωτοβουλιών πέραν των κατεστημένων. Οι παραδοσιακές ηγεσίες, όσο κι αν προσπαθούν θα ασσίστουν ταχτικά, θα παθαίνουν εμπλοκές κι εμφράγματα. Κι' εξάλλου αν το μέλλον λειτουργήσει, οι πολιτές θα το λειτουργήσουν κι απ' αυτούς αυτοί που υπέστησαν το διαχωρισμό κι όχι τόσο αυτοί που τον προκάλεσαν. Ουσιαστικά οι ηττημένοι του χθες καλούνται σήμερα να χτίσουν το αύριο. Πρέπει να ανέλθουν επόμενοι, γιατί ουσιαστικά δεν υπάρχει άλλη λύση, στο ύψος των περιστάσεων.

Οι αλήθειες της ζωής

Aν μου έλεγαν τότε που περπατούσα στους πέτρινους δρόμους της Εφτακώμης ότι θα έβλεπα το 2000 δεν θα το πίστευα. Να όμως που έγινε.

Εκείνον τον καιρό μόλις ξεπερνούσαμε την πείνα των χρόνων του πολέμου. Πρώτα ήρθε το Αυστραλίδικο μελάνι και η ζάχαρη και ύστερα το βούτυρο Ιρλανδίας.

Όταν ήρθαν και οι καραμέλες Bluebird, ας μην αναφερθώ στο γιατί αλλά αναγκάστηκε να αρχίσω πρώρα στο σχολείο.

Τώρα δε κυκλοφορώ με αυτοκίνητα και πληροφορούμαι μέσω του ίντερνετ.

Στην Εφτακώμη οι Ελληνοκυπριακές και Τουρκοκυπριακές γειτονιές ήταν χώρια και οι σχέσεις των ανθρώπων τεταμένες. Ήταν φανερό ότι οι νταήδες των γειτονιών αυτών βρισκόταν σε



Αλλάψ Ντουρδuran

ανταγωνισμό και η μεγάλη μερίδα του κόσμου τους ανεχόταν. Από την άλλη μέρα και έξω από το χωριό Ελληνοκυπριακή και Τουρκοκυπριακή δούλευαν μαζί. Εξέλλου όταν έγινε κάποιο ατύχημα στο λατομείο που ήταν κοντά στο χωριό και εργάτες Ελληνοκυπριακή και Τουρκοκυπριακή εργάτες πλακώθηκαν από άμμο και πέδιλ, αυτοί μεταφέρθηκαν την ίδια ώρα στις οικογένειές τους. Και οι δυο γειτονιές έκλαψαν γι αυτούς που χάθηκαν εξ' αιτίας των πρωτόγονων συνθηκών εργασίας.

Την ίδια ένταση την είδα και μεταξύ των συνοικιών Μεσομαχαλά και Κρήτης. Ο ίδιος ανταγωνισμός τυρανία δημιουργούσε ένταση μεταξύ των συνοικιών αυτών και εμπόδιζε την ανάπτυξη των ανθρώπινων σχέσεων. Το να ερωτευτεί ένας νέος από το Μεσομαχαλά μια κοπέλα από τη συνοικία Κρήτης σήμαινε ότι θα ακολουθούσε ένας αιματηρός καυγάς νέων. Το είδα να συμβαίνει και αυτό.

Ήταν και ο Άης Σέρρης, μικτό χωριό. Αλλά εκεί δεν υπήρχε τέτοιου είδους ένταση. Η γενναϊότητα και η μαγκιά κι εδώ δεν ήταν μοιρασμένη ισότητα, αλλά αυτό δεν δημιουργούσε επεισόδια πέρα

από το να κοπεί ένα κομμάτι από το ποκάμισο κάποιου ή το πολύ πολύ να έρθει αστυνομία στο χωριό του συμβάντος.

Ο Άης Σέρρης ήταν ένα χωριό καροπόφορο, όπου τις νύχτες άκουγες να τρίζουν οι ανεμόμυλοι. Εκεί λυπόντουσαν αυτούς που δούλευαν στο λιμάνι. Ισως ο λόγος των καλών σχέσεων των κοινοτήτων του χωριού να ήταν αυτή η σχετική ευμάρεια. Υπήρχαν και ραδιόφωνα στο χωριό. Αλλά και κάποιοι σχετικά πολιτικοποιημένοι, σε βαθμό που να ακούνε στα κρυφά το σταθμό της Μόσχας.

Κι όμως την έννοια του πραγματικού καυγά την έμαθα και πάλι στον Άη Σέρρη. Έως εκείνη την ημέρα εμείς τα παιδιά που φτιάχναμε ποδοσφαιρικές ομάδες και παίζαμε φιλικά, όταν ερχόταν Καραγκιόζης στο χωριό βρισκαμε την ευκαιρία να έρθουμε στα χέρια για μερικές μέρες. Λες και ένα χέρι αόρατο έσπερνε ανάμεσα μας σπόρους διχόνοιας. Στην παράσταση Καραγκιόζης πάντα ένας Τούρκος τις έτρωγε και τον υποτιμούσαν. Μετά την παράσταση τα Ελληνικά προσπαθούσαν να δείξουν ότι ήταν ανώτερα από εμάς τα Τουρκόπουλα, μερικά από αυτά έτρωγαν ξύλο και τότε Ελληνοκυπριακή έκαναν παράπονα στον πατέρα μου που ήταν ο δάσκαλος και ιμάμης του χωριού. Όταν δε, έτρωγαν ξύλο τα Τουρκόπουλα παρόμοια παράπονα γινόντουσαν στον παπά του χωριού.

Ποιοί ήταν αυτοί που έστελναν αυτές τις παραστάσεις στο χωριό; Ποιοί ήταν αυτοί που δεν δίσταζαν να προκαλέσουν την μια ομάδα; Η Αγγλική ηγεσία έμενε απλά θεατής στην κατάσταση, παρόλο που είχε αποδείξει την αποτελεσματικότητά της στα θέματα παιδείας, υγείας περιβάλλοντος και αναδόξωσης. Δεν αποδίδω την κατάσταση αυτή στην πολιτική του διαίρει και βασίλευε, γιατί τα σχολικά βιβλία των δημοτικών εκείνης της εποχής δεν ήταν γεμάτα με λανθασμένες και ψευτικές πληροφορίες όπως σήμερα αλλά με πραγματικές γνώσεις. Ακόμα δεν είχε χωριστεί η παιδεία και τα βιβλία που ήρθαν αργότερα από την Τουρκία και την Ελλάδα δεν είχαν εκπράξει ακόμα. Εκείνο τον καιρό τα Κυπριόπουλα μάθαιναν στην ιστορία της Κύπρου. Ακόμα θυμάμαι το εξώφυλλο του

HAYATIN GERÇEKLERİ

Eftagomî taşlık yollarında yalın ayak dolaşırken bana 2000 yılını göreceğim dersenle idi inanmazdım. Ama oluyor işte.

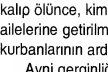
Ο zaman savaş zamanının açlığı yeni yeni kalkmakta idi. İlk Avustralya balı ve beyaz şeker ardından da İrlanda tereyağı gelmişti.

Bluebird şekerleri de gelince, neden olduğunu söylemeyeyim, İlkookula bir önceden başlamak zorunda kalmıştım.

Şimdi ise otomobillerde geziyor ve internete haberleşiyorum.

Eftagomî'de Türk ve Rum mahalleleri ayrı ve aralarındaki ilişki de

gergin idi. İki mahallenin kabadayılarının yanışta olduğu, geniş kesimince buna sessizce katlandığı belli idi. Yoksa köy içinde de köy dışında da Rum, Türk beraber çalışırlardı. Nitekim yakınlardaki bir kum ocağında kaza olup işçiler kum yığını altında



Alpay Durduran

kalıp ölünce, kimi Türk kimi Rum olan işçiler ayrı zamanda köye ailelerine getirilmişti. İki mahalle de ilkel çalışma koşullarının kurbanlarının ardından ağlamışlardı.

Aynı gerginliği Antalya'da İçmahalle ile Girit mahalleleri arasında da görmüştüm. Aynı zorbalık yanışı iki mahalle arasında gerginliğe sebeb olmakta ve insani ilişkileri engellemekte idi. Bir içmahallenin Girit mahallesinden bir kızı aşık olması kanlı bir gençlik kavgasına yol açabilirdi ve bunların olduğunu da görmüştüm.

Aysergi de katma bir köyü. Ama orda böyle bir gerginlik yoktu. Köyün en yiğit delikanlılığı gene paylaşılamamıştı ama birinin ceketindeki düğmeyi koparmaktan polislik olmaya götürmekten öteye gitmemişti.

Aysergi gece boyu yel değişimlerinin gıcırdağı bereketli bir köyü. Limanda çalışmak zorunda olana zavallı gözü ile bakılırdı. İlişkilerin iyi olması belki de bu görece zenginlikten olmuştur. Orada radyo sahibi olan da vardı. Sessiz sessiz Moskova radyosunu dinleyebilecekler krad politikaya girmişler de.

Gene de Aysergi'de esas kavranın nüsiyle tanık olmuştum. O güne kadar arkadaşça futbol takımı kurup oyun oynayan bir çocuklar ne zaman bir gezici Karagöz tiyatrosu köye gelirse birkaç gün kapışırıldık. Sanki görünmez bir el aramızca nifak tohumları serperdi. Karagöz oyununda hep bir Türk dayak yer ve aşağılanırdı. Onlar gittikten sonra Rum çocukları Türkleri daha üstün olduklarını göstermeye çalışır, bazılan Türklerden dayak yer Babama (Hem öğretmen hem de imamdı) şikayet gelirdi, bazılan da Türk çocukları döverdi papaza şikayet giderdi.

Kimdi bu tiyatroları yollayanlar? Kimdi bu tiyatrolarda bir grubu tahrik etmekten çekimkeniyer? İngiliz yönetimi buna seyirci kalabiliyordu ki eğitim, çevre sağlığı ve ormanlaştırmada gösterdiği başarılarla etkinliğini kanıtlamıştı. Bunu böl yönet politikası ile izah etmek istemiyorum çünkü ilkokul ders müfredatı şimdiki gibi yalan dolan şeylerle değil gerçek bilgilerle dolu idi. Henüz maahirin ayrılması ve kitapların Türkiye ve Yunistan'dan getirilmesi uygulamaları etkisini göstermemişti. Zaten maahirin ayrılmasını da İngiliz vali zoraki kabul etmişti. O zaman dagha ilkokul çocukları Kıbrıs tarihi okurlardı. Kitabın kapağındaki soyalyelerin bir Gotik şato öndünde mızraklı kavgalarını daha hatırlarım.

βιβλία που έδειχνε δυο ιππότες με τις λόγχες στο χέρι να αγωνίζονται μπροστά σε ένα Γοτθικό κάστρο.

Όχι πως δεν υπήρχε εθνικισμός. Απλά δεν υπήρχε η έξαρση που εξυμνητούσε κάποιους άλλους σκοπούς της ηγεσίας.

Και πάλι όμως είχαν βρει τον τρόπο να μας κάνουν εθνικιστές. Οι εφημερίδες μας έσπερναν διχόνοια μεταξύ των δυο κοινοτήτων, τα βιβλιοπωλεία μας δε, δηλητηρίαζαν με τα πλήθια μυητοσχημίσματα τους τους λάτρεις του είδους. Από τη μια οι πόλεμοι του Χαζρετί Αλί, από την άλλη τα βιβλία της Νιχάτ Αντισί μεγάλωναν μια γενιά έτοιμη για καυγά. Ενώ η σκληρή πραγματικότητα της ζωής απαιτούσε συνεργασία μεταξύ των ανθρώπων της ίδιας πατρίδας.

Μια ολοφάνερη πρόκληση με στόχο να κάνει τη ζωή κόλαση εξουσίας παντού. Υπήρχαν δυο ηγεσίες πέραν της νόμιμης κυβέρνησης. Αυτοί κρατούσαν τα ινιά. Ήταν αναικίνοι για οποιοδήποτε διάλογο. Αργότερα θα αλληλοκατηγορούσαν για να φανούν καθαροί αλλά ακόμα και οι κατηγορίες τους θα δημιουργούσαν επεισόδια.

Τώρα μπαίνοντας στο 2000 βρισκόμαστε και πάλι στην ίδια κατάσταση. Είμαστε δηλαδή τόσο άβουλοι ώστε να δεχτούμε τον καυγά που προκαλείται εκ των άνω χωρίς αντίδραση, ή θα αντισταθούμε;

Η Αγγλική ηγεσία είναι ακόμα εκεί και υπάρχουν κι άλλοι. Τότε η Αγγλική κυβέρνηση που δεν ήθελε να φύγει από την Κύπρο είχε χρησιμοποιήσει την Τουρκοκυπριακή ηγεσία εναντίον της Ελληνικοκυπριακής. Τώρα είναι ολοφάνερο πως θα υπαρξει κάποιου είδους επίμβαση προς αποφυγή ενός ελληνοτουρκικού πολέμου. Τότε, αν οι δυο ηγεσίες υπολογίζουν την επέμβαση και δεν υπεκκρίνουν σε ανεφικτές δοξασίες δεν θα φθάναμε σ' αυτό το σημείο. Μπορούμε να πούμε πολλά και διάφορα. Ξέρω όμως ότι στη νέα κατάσταση που βρισκόμαστε έχουμε αποκτήσει εμπειρίες και οι δυο πλευρές και ότι ο λαός δεν έχει τα μάτια κλειστά όπως παλιά. Το βασικό πρόβλημα δε, σήμερα υπάρχει το θέμα της υποψηφιότητας σε μια ΕΕ που έχει ιδρυθεί για να δείξει το παράλογο του πολέμου.

Μερικοί λένε πως αν ομιζουν Ελληνοκυπριακή και Τουρκοκύπριακή κάποιο μικρό συμβάν θα γίνει σπίθα για μια μεγάλη φωτιά. Αυτό το

θεωρώ μεγάλη προσβολή για την Κύπρο. Αυτοί που ξεσπούν με μια σπίθα είναι κοινότητες που βρίσκονται στο επίπεδο μη ανεπτυγμένων οικονομικών σχέσεων. Θα ντρεπόιουν αν με σύγκριναν με τους ανθρώπους της Ινδονησίας που παίρνουν μάχαιρες στα χέρια για να σφάξουν τους γείτονες τους. Ξέρουμε πού και πώς γίνονται οι φιλονικίες ομάδων. Μήπως δεν έχουμε συνειδητοποιήσει τα εξωτερικά συμφρόντα της διχόνοιας στην Κύπρο; Συμφρόντα φυσικά κατ' αυτούς γιατί στην πραγματικότητα το κακό στρέφεται εναντίον τους. Εμάς δεν μας άξιζε η φιλονικία ακόμα και στη δεκαετία του '50. Με την εξωτερική συμπαράσταση στους φιλονικούντες φθάσαμε εκεί που φθάσαμε. Παρόλα αυτά ο καθένας μας έχει μια ιστορία αλληλοβοήθειας με τον άλλον της άλλης κοινότητας. Ελπίζω αυτοί να βρουν πλέον το θάρρος να αφηγηθούν τις ιστορίες τους ούτως ώστε να απαλύνουν έστω και λίγο την ντροπή του παρασυρμού μας σε μια τέτοια ιστορία.

Τη δεκαετία του '40, οι κάτοικοι του ίδιου χωριού που κοιμόντουσαν με ανοιχτά παρθένα φοβόντουσαν λιγότερο την εθνικιστική απειλή από τη σημερινή απειλή της ληστείας. Αυτό που μας αρμίζει, όπως εκείνη την εποχή δεν απαιτούσαμε δικαίωμα στην επιλογή του γείτονα μας, έτσι και σήμερα είναι να είμαστε πολιτισμένοι σε βαθμό που να ξερούμε να διαλέγουμε τον γείτονα μας. Μπορεί να υπάρχουν αναμεσά μας κάποιου που θα έλεγα πως δεν θα θέλαν να ζήσουν δίπλα σ' έναν Τουρκοκύπριο ή έναν Ελληνοκύπριο. Κι αυτοί έχουν το δικαίωμα να αλλάξουν τόπο κατοικίας. Αυτό το νησί, ναι, είναι μικρό αλλά όχι και τόσο. Θάνατι για όλους μας. Ακόμα και οι αυτοί που λένε πως δεν θέλουν να βλέπουν τα μούτρα του άλλου είδους.

Έζησα την εποχή που άρχισε να μεγαλώνει ο καυγάς, εύχομαι να δω και το τέλος του. Ας τρεπνούνται αυτοί που έστελναν τις παραστάσεις του Καραγκιόζη στον Άη Σέρμη. Αυτό το νησί θα συνεχίσει να είναι το μαργαριτάρι της Μεσογείου ως δείγμα πλουραλισμού.

Milliyetçilik akımı yok değil ama yönetim eliyle bir amaç için pompalanmıyordu.

Gene de bizi milliyetçi yapmanın bir yolunu bulmuşlardı. Gazetemiz eksiksiz iki toplum arasında nifak sokuyordu kitabevlerimiz abuk sabuk romanlarla okumaya meraklı olanları zehirliyordu. Hazreti Ali'nin cenkleri bir yana Nihal Adispi'nin kitapları da kavgaya hazır bir gençlik yetiştiriyordu. Halbuki hayatın kat gerçekleri aynı yurdun insanları arasında işbirliğini gerektiriyordu.

Kendi hayatını zindana çevirmek için alenen bir kıskırtma her yere egemendi. Ki ilerideki diye yasal hükümetin dışında bir oluşum vardı. İpler onların elinde idi. Her türlü diyalogtan yoksun bir yapıda idiler. Sonradan birbirlerini suçlayıp aklanmaya çalışacaklardı ama suçlamaları bile kavgaya çıkarıcı bir nitelikte olacaktı.

2000 yılına girenken gene aynı durumda mıyız? Yani yukardan kıskırtmalarla kavgayı itirazsız kabul edecek kadar uysal mı olacağız, yoksa karşı çıkacak mıyız?

İngiliz yönetimi hala orda ve başkaları da var. O zaman Kıbrıs'tan çıkmak istemeyen İngiliz yönetimi Rum liderliği karşı Türk liderliğini kullanmıştı. Şimdi de Türk - Yunan savaşını önlemek için bir şekilde müdahale olacağı aşikar. O zaman ki ilerideki müdahaleyi hesaplayıp olmayacak dualara amin demeseydi bu duruma gelmezdi. Daha başka iddialarda da bulunmak mümkün. Ama yeni durumda ki tarafın da deneyim kazandığını ve halkın eskisi gibi gözü kapalı olmadığını biliyoruz. Daha işi artık savaşçı mantıksız hale getirmek için kurulmuş olan bir AB üyeliği söz konusudur.

Bazılarının Türk ve Rum biraraya gelirse bir küçük olay bir kıvılcım parlattır ve büyük yangına sebep olur diyor. Bunu Kıbrıs'la yapılan bir hakaret olarak görüyorum. Bir kıvılcımla patlayanları ancak geri ekonomik ilişkiler içinde yaşayan topluluklardı. Eline satın alıp komşularını doğramaya kalkan Endonezya adalarının insanları ile kışaştırılmakla utanınım. Grup kavgalarının nerelerde ve nasıl olabildiğini biliyoruz. Kıbrıs'taki kavganın gerisindeki de çıkarları (tabii kendilerine göre çıkarlar; aslında ise başlarına deri) bilincinde değil miyiz? Biz daha 1950'lerde böyle bir kavgaya layık değildik. Kavgaçılara getirilen dış destek ve himaye işi bu boyutlara vardırmıştı. Gene de hemen herkesin bir diğer toplumdan kişi ile kurduğu yardımlaşma ile ilgili bir hikayesi vardır. Umanın artık bu hikayeleri anlatma cesaretini bulurlar da böyle bir maceraya sürüklenmemizin aybını biraz hafifletirler.

1940'larda aynı köyde pencereleri açık uyuyanlar etnik tehditten, bugünkü hırslı tehditinden daha az korkarlardı. Bize layık olan o zaman nasıl komşumuzu seçme hakkı talep etmemek işe idi bugün de komşumuzu seçmeyi bilecek kadar uyganz. Aramızda komşusunu seçmeye kalkan ve ben bir Rum veya Türk'ün yanında yaşamak istemeyen olabilir. Onlar da yer değiştirme hakkına sahiptirler. Bu Ada küçüktür ama o kadar da değil. Hepimize yeter. Ben o cinsin yüzünü görmek istemem diyene bile.

Kavganın büyüme başladığı zamanı da yaşadım, dilerim bittiği zamanı da göreceğim. Aysergi'ye Karagöz tiyatrosunu gönderenler utansın, bu iki toplum Ortadoğu'nun incisi olarak çoğulcu örneğini sürdürecektir

ΑΠΟ ΤΗ ΝΕΑ ΥΟΡΚΗ ΣΤΟ ΕΛΣΙΝΚΙ

Πόσο είναι άραγε σωστό να χρησιμοποιούν οι άνθρωποι μεσολαβητές για να λύσουν τα προβλήματά τους; Ή να ελπίζουν ότι αυτοί οι μεσολαβητές θα λύσουν τα προβλήματα των άλλων σε ξένες χώρες;

-Να λένε αυτό το συζητώ, το άλλο όχι...

Και βέβαια κανένα από αυτά δεν είναι σωστό...



Χασάν Καφεζίογλου

Ελα όμως που αυτοί που μας κυβερνούν, παρόλο που συνομιλούν εδώ και πάνω από τριάντα χρόνια δεν φέρνουν αποτέλεσμα; Αυτά τα τριάντα χρόνια και πολεμήσαμε και συνομιλήσαμε...

Να "μονιάσουμε" όμως δεν καταφέραμε.

Και καθώς έτσι έχουν τα πράγματα τις πλείστες φορές, μεταφερθήκαμε στη Νέα Υόρκη απλά για μια ακόμη "δοκιμή"...

Επιπροσθέτα αυτή τη φορά οι συζητήσεις γίνονται όχι πρόσωπο με πρόσωπο αλλά μέσω τρίτων.

Προσπαθούμε δηλαδή με το χειρότερο "σχήμα" να πάρουμε αποτέλεσμα.

Το να κάθονται οι κυβερνώντες ξανά και ξανά στο τραπέζι δεν δημιουργεί πια «ενθουσιασμό».

Το Κυπριακό σχεδόν παύει πλέον να είναι «δικό μας» πρόβλημα και μπαίνει στο χώρο «επίδρασης» τρίτων πλευρών.

Η κοινωνία παρουσιάζει μια «απελπισία» αναμένοντας από αυτούς τους «χώρους επίδρασης», δηλαδή από τις ξένες δυναμικές κάποια «κίνηση».

Στην πραγματικότητα οι Τουρκοκύπριοι τα τελευταία χρόνια με όλην αυτή τις δηλώσεις περί «ενσωμάτωσης» και «ομοσπονδίας» άρχισαν να νοιώθουν ακόμα πιο «μόνοι».

Καθώς η Ελληνοκυπριακή πλευρά κατευθύνεται προς την πλήρη ένταξη της στην ΕΕ η Τουρκία είχε καθορίσει το στόχο της.

Η Τουρκία έχει αποκτήσει επιπλέον το στάτους της «υποψήφιας» χώρας μέλους της ΕΕ.

Μετά από αυτήν την «υποψήφιατητα» πρέπει να γίνει πλέον καλύτερα κατανοητό ότι η κυρίως ανάγκη των Τουρκοκυπρίων είναι η λύση του Κυπριακού προβλήματος.

Η συνάντηση κορυφής του Ελσίνκι αποφάσισε πως «η πλήρης ένταξη της Ελληνοκυπριακής διοίκησης στην ΕΕ δεν εξαρτάται από την λύση του Κυπριακού». Βάση αυτού δεν είναι πλέον δυνατή η καθυστέρηση και το παρατρέξιμο των συναντήσεων.

Η συνάντηση κορυφής του Ελσίνκι με αυτή της την απόφαση αδυνατίσει το πιο ισχυρό χαρτί που είχε στο μανίκι της η Τουρκοκυπριακή πλευρά.

Κατά κάποια έννοια, η ΕΕ με το ύψος που χρησιμοποίησε κατέδειξε την Τουρκοκυπριακή πλευρά ως υπεύθυνη για την καθυστέρηση. Ίδου και ο λόγος του «θυμού» του Ντενκτάς στη Νέα Υόρκη.

Η Τουρκική κυβέρνηση θα κατηγορηθεί για το ότι αποδυναμώνει τη «θέση» της Τουρκοκυπριακής πλευράς χάριν της δικής της «υποψήφιατητας» για ένταξη στην ΕΕ.

Ακόμα πριν από λίγα χρόνια οι Ευρωπαίοι οι οποίοι έλεγαν «δεν μπορούμε να σας δεχτούμε ανάμεσα μας στο άμεσο μέλλον» σήμερα λένε «δεν γίνεται Τουρκία χωρίς την Ευρώπη, ούτε και Ευρώπη χωρίς την Τουρκία».

Κατ'εμένα σε αυτή την αλλαγή «νοοτροπίας» έπαιξε ρόλο και η στάση του Ντενκτάς.

Στην ουσία εγώ δεν έχω κανένα παράπονο από όλα αυτά.

NEW YORK'TAN HELSINKI'YE

İnsanların, sorularını "aracılar" kullanarak çözmeye çalışmaları acaba ne kadar doğrudur? Ya da bu "aracılar" dan, dünyanın okyanuslar ötesi ülkelerinde medet ummaları?

- Şunu konuşmam, şunu konuşurum demeleri...

Bunların hiçbirisi doğru değil elbette...

Ancak gelin görün ki, bizleri yönetenler, otuz yılı aşkındır görüştükleri halde, bir sonuca varamıyorlar. Bu otuz yılda hem savaştık, hem görüştük...

Ama "başşmayı" başaramadık.



Hasan Kahvecioğlu

Öyle olunca da, bilmem kaçına "deneme" için New York'a taşındık...

Üstelik bu kez "yüz yüze" değil, "aracılarla" görüşüyoruz.

Yani, olabilecek en kötü "format"la, sonuç almaya çalışıyoruz.

Bizi yönetenlerin, yeniden "masa'ya" oturmaları, artık eskisi gibi "heyecan" yaratmıyor.

Neredeyse, Kıbnns sorunu "bizim" olmaktan çıkıp, üçüncü tarafların "etki" alanı içine giriyor.

Toplum ; bu "etki alanları"ndan, yani dış dinamiklerden "hareket" bekleyen bir "çaresizlik" sergiliyor.

Aslında, Kıbnnslı Türkler, son yıllarda "entegrasyon" ve "federasyon" söylemleri arasında giderek kendilerini daha da "yalnız" hissetmeye başlamışlardır.

Kıbnns Rum tarafı, Avrupa Birliği'ne tam üyelik hedefi doğrultusunda ilerlerken, Türkiye de kendi "hedef" ini çizmişti.

Türkiye, Avrupa Birliği'ne "aday ülke" statüsünü nihayet elde etmiş bulunuyor.

Bu "adaylık" statüsünden sonra; Kıbnns Türklerinin asıl ihtiyacının Kıbnns sorununun çözümü olduğu daha iyi anlaşılmalıdır.

Helsinki zirvesi; "Kıbnns Rum Yönetimi'nin AB'ye tam üyeliğinin Kıbnns sorununun çözümüne bağlanmayacağı" kararını almıştır. Buna göre; görüşmelerini geciktirmek, uzatmak, oyalamak artık mümkün olmayacaktır.

Helsinki Zirvesi; bu kararlar Türk tarafının elinde ki en güçlü "kozlardan birini" zayıflatmıştır. Bir anlamda AB; Kıbnns sorununun çözümündeki "gecikme"de Türk tarafını işaret eden, bir üslup kullanmıştır.

Denktaş'ın New York'tan yükselen "öfke"sinin nedeni budur.

Türk Hükümeti, AB'ye "aday ülke" statüsünü kazanmak için Kıbnnslı Türklerin "pozisyon"unu zayıflatmakla suçlanacaktır.

Daha birkaç yıl önce Türkiye'ye "Görünür gelecekte sizi aramıza almayız" diyen batılılar, şimdi "Türkiye Avrupası, Avrupa Türkiye'siz olmaz" diyorlar.

Bence; bu değişen "anlayış"ta, Kıbnns sorununun, belki de Denktaş'ın "şahin" çıkışlarının da rolü olmuştur.

Avrupa; Türkiye'yi alarak "Kıbnns sorunu" nu çözebileceğini birkaç yıl içinde anlamıştır.

Aslında benim, bütün bunlardan hiçbir şikayetim yoktur.

Εγώ είμαι της άποψης πως το μέλλον της Κύπρου βρίσκεται στην Ευρώπη. Γι' αυτόν ακριβώς το λόγο επιθυμώ την ένταξη και της Τουρκίας και της Ελλάδας και της Κύπρου από κοινού στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση.

Και βέβαια, αναμένω από την Τουρκοκυπριακή πλευρά να είναι πιο προσεκτική και πιο μετρημένη λόγω της απόφασης του Ελσίνκι.

Θέλω δε, η Ελληνοκυπριακή πλευρά να μη χρησιμοποιήσει αυτή την απόφαση εις βάρος της Τουρκοκυπριακής πλευράς.

Η Τουρκία και η Ελλάδα μπαίνουν σε μια περίοδο λύσης των προβλημάτων τους που είναι στρωμένη με κλάδους ελιάς.

Η Ελληνοκυπριακή πλευρά προχωρά προς την ένταξη.

Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι όμως έχουν στριμωχτεί μέσα σε όλες αυτές τις στρατηγικές.

Και φυσικά δεν είναι δυνατόν να συμμετέχουν με τους Ελληνοκύπριους στις συνομιλίες ένταξης αρνούμενοι τη δική τους ταυτότητα.

Ο Κληρίδης δεν πρέπει να κακοφανίζει τους Τουρκοκύπριους κάθε λίγο και λιγάκι με τέτοιου είδους «φόρμουλες».

Από την άλλη ούτε η λογική του «θα κινηθούμε σε περίπτωση της ενοποίησης των Ελληνοκυπρίων με την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση» ικανοποιεί τους Τουρκοκύπριους.

Η ενσωμάτωση με την Τουρκία δεν είναι ο τελικός στόχος των Τουρκοκυπρίων. Όμως κάθε μέρα που περνάει γίνονται βήματα προς το στόχο αυτό.

Το δικό μας όφελος είναι να γίνουμε και πάλι πολιτικά ισότιμοι συνέταροι και να ενταχθούμε στην ΕΕ σαν πλήρες μέλος, μετά τη λύση ως «Ενωμένη Κύπρος».

Η «συμβολή» της Ελλάδας και της Τουρκίας πρέπει να έχει αυτό το στόχο.

Ben; Kıbrıs'ın geleceğini Avrupa'da gören bir anlayışın sahibiyim.

Bu yüzden Türkiye'nin de, Yunanistan'ın da, Kıbrıs'ın da birlikte "Avrupa ailesi" içinde yer almasını arzuluyorum.

Tabii ki, Türk tarafının Helsinki zirvesinden çıkan karar nedeniyle daha dikkatli, daha ölçülü olmasını bekliyorum.

Rum tarafının ise, bu karar "Kıbrıs Türklerin aleyhine" kullanmamasını istiyorum. Türkiye ve Yunanistan aralarındaki sorunları çözme konusunda "zeytin dalları ile döşenmiş" bir döneme giriyorlar.

Rum tarafı, Avrupa Birliği'ne üyelik konusunda ilerliyor.

Ama Kıbrıs Türkleri, bütün bu "strateji" lerin arasına sıkışmış kalmışlardır.

Tabii ki, kendi kimliklerini reddederek Rum tarafı ile birlikte AB ile üyelik görüşmelerine katılmaları olası değildir.

Kleridis'in ikide bir böyle bir "formül"le Kıbrıs Türkleri incitmemesi gerekmektedir.

Öte yandan "Rumlar AB ile entegrasyonda adım atarız" mantığı da, Kıbrıs Türkleri tatmin etmiyor.

Türkiye ile "entegrasyon" Kıbrıs Türklerin "nihai hedefi" i değildir. Ancak bu bağlamda, her geçen gün bir adım daha atılmaktadır.

Bizim kazanımız; Kıbrıs'ın siyasi eşitlik temelinde ortaklığını yeniden kurmak ve çözümden sonra "Birleşik Kıbrıs" olarak AB'ye tam üye olmaktır.

Türkiye'nin ve Yunanistan'ın asıl "katkı"ları bu amaca yönelik olmalıdır.

ΚΑΙ ΒΕΒΑΙΑ ΘΑ ΥΠΑΡΞΕΙ ΛΥΣΗ

Το 1947 μέρος των Παλαιστινίων κατοίκων της Χάφα και της Γιάφα μετακόμισαν λόγω της «Εβραϊκής» κατοχής, στην Κύπρο.

Τότε ήμουν εφτά χρονών. Ο γαμπρός μου –Παλαιστίνιος μετανάστης- εγκαταστάθηκε στο σπίτι μας στην Αιμόλωση μέσα στην θεία μου και τα παιδιά τους.



Εσρέφ Τσεντέλ

Σε κείνη την ηλικία κατάλαβα πόσο μεγάλη πηγή είναι να σου πάρουν το σπίτι σου και την πατρίδα σου μέσα από τα χέρια σου.

Χρόνια λοιπόν ολόκληρα έβλεπα τους Παλαιστίνιους εξοριστούς να ζουν μέσα στη νοσταλγία και να πεθάνουν μέσα στον πόνο και τη θλίψη τους.

Με αυτά τα πολιτικά εφόδια, προσπάθηρα τη δεκαετία του '60 να κατανοήσω τις συνεχείς προσπάθειες των Παλαιστινίων να προβάλλουν τα αιτήματά τους στον κόσμο και τις αλληπάλληλες τρομοκρατικές τους ενέργειες που έφθαναν μέχρι και την αεροπειρατεία.

Το δράμα των Παλαιστινίων που έχασαν την πατρίδα τους σε αντίθεση με τους Εβραίους που κέρδισαν μια πατρίδα ύστερα από 2000 χρόνια, σφράγισε το δεύτερο μισό του εικοστού αιώνα. Αυτό δεν το ξέχασα ποτέ. Κάθε φορά που σε κάποιο πόλεμο μια εθνότητα ή εθνική ομάδα επιτίθετο εναντίον μιας άλλης ένοιωθα την ίδια θλίψη.

Το ίδιο ένοιωσα το 1974 όταν έγινε η Ειρηνευτική Επιχείρηση στην Κύπρο. Όσο και να είχαμε δίκιο ιστορικά, σε μια πραγματικότητα κατά την οποία και Ελληνοκύπριοι και Τουρκοκύπριοι προσφυγοποιήθηκαν, σκοτώθηκαν και εγκατέλειψαν τα σπίτια και τα εδάφη τους δεν μπορούσες ούτε να χαρείς ούτε να λυπηθείς. Ενώ λοιπόν άνθρωποι έχαναν τη ζωή τους και τις πατρίδες τους που απέκτησαν με ιδρώτα δεν μπορούσες να τραγουδάς για ελευθερία και ευτυχία και ούτε είχες το δικαίωμα να το κάνεις!

Πώς όμως θα μπορούσε να ενεργήσει ένας λαός όταν ένας άλλος λαός προσπαθούσε να εδραιώσει την εξουσία του πάνω στο μίος; Ξαν αποτέλεσμα η Κύπρος βάφτηκε με αίμα. Πώς αλλιώς θα μπορούσε να αντιμετωπίσεις τον Ελληνοκυπριακό ιμπεριαλισμό ο οποίος στόχευε στη "μεγάλη ιδέα" και την ένωση χωρίς να καταφύγει στον πόλεμο;

ÇÖZÜM ELBET OLACAKTIR

Ήταν αναπόφευκτο να εξασφαλιστεί την ειρήνη με τον πόλεμο, έστω κι αν τον λογαριασμό θα πλήρωναν αβώι άνθρωποι. Γι' αυτό το λόγο σ' αυτό το νησί χιλιάδες άνθρωποι πόνεσαν.

Και τώρα για να βάλουμε στη θέση του πόνου τη χαρά και στη θέση του πολέμου την ειρήνη οι δυο κοινότητες κάθισαν στο τραπέζι των διαπραγματεύσεων. Μην υπολογίζετε στο διεθνή παράγοντα ούτε στη γεωστратηγική θέση της Κύπρου. Η Κύπρος μπορεί να οδηγηθεί και πάλι σε νέους πολέμους. Αυτό που έχει σημασία είναι οι δυο κοινότητες να εμπειδώσουν την ειρήνη και ένα υψηλό βιοτικό επίπεδο.

Ναι, αίγιορα θα ζήσουμε μαζί σε αυτό το νησί. Αυτή είναι η μόνη πραγματικότητα. Κάποια μέρα και ο Ντενκτάς και ο Κληρίδης θα μετοικήσουν στον άλλο κόσμο. Τα παιδιά μας έχουν για πάντα το δικαίωμα να ζήσουν σε αυτό το νησί.

Δεν είναι δυνατόν να φανταστεί κανείς ότι το Κυπριακό δεν θα λυθεί κάποια στιγμή, φέρνοντας την ειρήνη στην Κύπρο. Αυτή η λύση μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ως νίκη ή ως ήττα από τους μεν ή από τους δε. Διότι αυτή η λύση δεν θα βρεθεί από τον Ελληνοκυπριακό ή τον Τουρκοκυπριακό λαό αλλά από τις "ενδιαφερόμενες" εξωτερικές δυνάμεις. Και όσο τα συμφέροντα των δυνάμεων αυτών στην Κύπρο και την περιοχή οδηγούν στην ειρήνη, θα έχουμε ειρήνη. Σε αντίθετη περίπτωση η Κύπρος θα σπρωχθεί σε νέες περιπέτειες.

Άρα η πραγματική ειρήνη πρέπει να ανθίσει "στην καρδιά και το μυαλό των Κυπρίων", στους οποίους πρέπει να ριζώσει το δικαίωμα του άλλου στη ζωή. Αυτό είναι το δύσκολο!

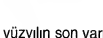
1947 'de Hayfa ve Yafa'da yaşamakta olan bir kısım "Filistinliler" vatanlarını ellerinden alan "Yahudilerin" işgalinden dolayı Kıbrıs'a göç ettilerdi.

Ben o yıllarda yedi yaşındaydım. Ve enişten bir "İlstin göçmeni" olarak halım ve çocukları ile birlikte Mağusa'daki evimize yerleşmişlerdi.

"Göçmenin" ne olduğunu, insanların vatanlarının ellerinden alınmasının nasıl onulmaz yaralar açtığını, ilk kez bylesine bir yaşta öğrendim. Yıllar yılı bu göçmen Filistinlilerin nasıl vatan hasreti ile yaşadıklarını, bazılarının sersefil olduklarını ve bazıların da kahrından öldüklerini gördüm.

1960'lar sonrasında vatanları ellerinden alınan Filistinlilerin seslerini dünyaya duyurmak için nasıl örgütlendirip o güne kadar görülmemiş boyutlarda ve de uçak kaçımalarına varan eylemlerde "terör" hareketine girdiklerini, gençliğimin ilk siyasi bilincinde yorumlamaya çalıştım.

Eşref Çetinel



İki bin yıl sonra "vatansızlıktan" vatan sahibi oluştuk kavuşan Yahudilere karşın, "vatanlarını" yitiren Filistinlilerin dramını, yirminci yüzyılın son yansına vurulan utanç damgalı olgusunda hiç unutmadım.

Ve her devrede nerede savaş kopmuş, hangi ulus veya etnik topluluk bir başka devlet ve etnik gruba saldırmışa hep aynı yazıyı duydum.

1974 Kıbrıs Barış Harekati gerçekleştiğinde de duygularım değişmedi. Ne denli "tarihi haklılık" içinde olursak olalım yine "göç eden, ölen, evlerini, topraklarını yitiren insanların bir savaşın bedelini ödediği gerçelerde Türk halkı için kazanılmış "zafer", Rum halkı için kaybedilmiş savaş yargılarında ne sevinmek ne de yerinmek mümkün olmuyordu.

İnsanlar binlerce ile göç edip ölürlerken, insanlar alın terlerini aktıktan vatanlarını yitirirken, kimselerin sevinmeye ve kimselerin yitip giden hayatlar üzerine "özgürlüklerle mutluluklar" şarkıları söylemeye ne gönlü olabilir ne hakkı!

Pekala ama tarihi kaderini "düşmanlıklar" üzerine oturtmuş bir halkın bir diğer halk üzerinde "egemenlik" kurma dayatması ile kan revan içinde bırakılmış Kıbrıs adasında bu kaderi değiştirmek için bir başka çare var mıydı?

"Enosis" kefenine sarılmış "meğalo idea" gibi tarihten gelen amaçta Türk halkını yok sayarak yaratılan Rum emperyalizmini durdurabilmek için "savaştan" öte nasıl bir yöntem kullanılabilir?

Faturasını masum insanların ödedikleri kaçınılmazlığı, hatta kurulacak "barış" savaşla sağlanacak başka.

Bu adada bu yüzden binlerce insan acı çekti.

Ve işte şimdilerde bu acıların yerine sevinci, savaşın yerine de barışı koymak için iki toplum bir kez daha görüşme masasında bir araya getirildi. Olayın uluslararası çıkar hesaplarına eşitlenen denklemlerini hiç dikkate almayan. Akdeniz'in bu yöresine stratejisi ile oturan Kıbrıs coğrafyasına da aldırılmaz. Bunlar, o çıkar hesaplarında, Kıbrıs'ın bir gün yine savaşlara itilecek kadar "siyasi zoka" durumunda olduğunu gerçeklerini vurgularlar.

Önemli olan adayı paylaşan iki toplumun "siyasi" durumuna düşünmeden kendi topraklarında yaratılacak barış ve refahıdır.

Mutlaka "kardeş kardeş" yaşamaları gibi çok klasikleşmiş ütöpik laflara sınırlanmalı da gerekmez. Mutlaka ille de içiçe oluşlarını dayatacak çözümleri de istemez. Ne biz onların klliselerine gideceğiz ne onlar bizim camilerimize geleceker.

Fakat mutlaka bu adada birlikte yaşayacağız. Asıl gerçek budur. Bir gün Denktas da göçer Kiliris de. Çocuklarımız ise bu adada yaşama hakkında hep var olurlar.

Bunu düşünabiliyor muyuz? Bu güne kadar hiç bir siyasi sorun çözümsüz kalmadı. Kıbrıs sorunu da çözüme ulaşacaktır. Ve bunun adına Kıbrıs'ta sağlanan "barış" denecektir.

"Çözümün", ikin halk yargısında "iyi ile kötü" olarak yeni zafer ve bir başka yenilgi biçiminde yorum bulması da mümkündür. Çünkü bu çözümü Kıbrıs'ta yaşayan Türk ve Rum halkları değil, "dışındaki" daha güçlü "İlgili" odaklar sağlayacaklardır.

Onların Kıbrıs ve bölge üzerinde çıkar uzlaşmalarını devam ettirdi süreç de "barış devam edecektir". O uzlaşmanın bittiği yerde "Kıbrıs" yeni arbedelere yeniden itilecektir.

O halde asıl barış "Kıbrıs insanının beyninde ve yüreğinde" yeşermelidir. Asıl çözüm bu adayı paylaşan insanların birbirlerinin "yaşam hakkına" duyacakları saygıda kökleşmelidir. Zor olan da budur! Yoksa elbet bu adada şöyle şöyle veya böyle çözüm olacaktır.

Τürkiye'nin faal bir deprem bölgesinde meydana gelen korkunç felaket, benzer bir deprem bölgesi olduğu bilinen Türkiye'nin güneyindeki Akkuyu mevkiinde inşaatı düşünülen bir nükleer elektrik santralının iptal edilmesi ile ilgili talebi daha da bir güçlendirmektedir.

Böylesi bir tesiste meydana gelecek bir kazanın zararı sadece Türkiye'de değil bir çok komşu ülkede de ve zaman içerisinde, şimdi yaşanan felaketin de kat kat fevkinde hissedilecektir.

İzmitteki petrol rafinerisinin bir nükleer reaktör olması halinde meydana gelecek sayısız neticeleri düşünmek dahi insanı korku ile titretmeye kafidir.

İnsanları depremlerin en kötü etkilerine karşı korumak, modası geçmiş bir teknolojiye yapılacak yatırımdan ve astronomik boyutlar içeren çevre kirlenmesini temizletme faaliyetinden çok daha değerlidir...

Bati'daki pazarların çökmeye başlaması çok uluslu şirketleri fakir ülkelere göz diktilmektedir. Nükleer yayılımı önleme iddiası da ancak bu kadar olur!

Bu bölgede rüzgar ve güneş gücü gibi sürdürülebilir bir enerji kaynakları mevcuttur. Bunların kabul görmesi ve kullanımının yaygınlaşması için destek sağlanmalıdır.

Ümit ederiz ki bu depremin ortaya çıkardığı çarpıklıktan düzeltilme çabası acıkla tasarlanmış binaların muhtemel zararları yokedebileceğinin bilinci içerisinde gerçekleşir. Tabiidir ki böylesi bir hareket tarzı muazzam bir maddi yardımın yapılmasını da gerekli kılar fakat aynı zamanda Türkiye'yi sürdürülebilir bina tasanımında dünyada başı çeker konumuna getirir ve halen insafsız bir acıya gömülen insanlara ümit ve iş imkanı sağlamış olur.

Η φοβερή καταστροφή που επήλθε στην ενεργό σεισμική περιοχή της Τουρκίας ενδυνάμωσε την απαίτηση ακύρωσης της απόφασης ίδρυσης πυρηνικού σταθμού στο Ακκουγιού, το οποίο ευρίσκεται σε μια σεισμική επίσης περιοχή, στα νότια της χώρας.

Οι ζημιές ενός πιθανού ατυχήματος σε εγκαταστάσεις τέτοιου είδους δε θα ήταν αισθητές μόνο στην Τουρκία αλλά σε πολλές γειτονικές χώρες. Μάλιστα δε, είναι πιθανόν μια πυρηνική καταστροφή να είναι μεγαλύτερη από την καταστροφή που υπέστη η χώρα από το σεισμό.

Ακόμα και το να αναλογιστεί κανείς τους κινδύνους σε περίπτωση που τα διυλιστήρια της Νικομήδειας θα μετατρέπονταν σε πυρηνικό αντιδραστήρα είναι αρκετό για να μας κάνει να τρέουμε από φόβο.

Το να προφυλάξει τον άνθρωπο από τις χειρότερες επιρροές του σεισμού είναι πολύ πιο σημαντικό από το να επενδύσεις σε μια ξεπερασμένη τεχνολογία και να επιχειρήσεις να αντιμετωπίσεις τη μόλυνση του περιβάλλοντος με επενδύσεις αστρονομικών διαστάσεων.

Τα προβλήματα των δυτικών αγορών στρέφουν το ενδιαφέρον των πολυεθνικών προς τις φτωχές χώρες. Δεν ξέρω όμως πάνω σε ποιά λογική θα μπορούσε να βασιστεί ένας τέτοιου είδους πυρηνικός επεκτατισμός.

Σε αυτή την περιοχή υπάρχουν πλούσιες ενεργειακές πηγές, όπως η δύναμη του αέρος και του ηλίου. Χρειάζεται διαφώτιση για να γίνουν αυτές οι πηγές ενέργειας αποδεκτές και να εξαπλωθεί η χρήση τους.

Ελπίζουμε ότι η προσπάθεια αντιμετώπισης των αδυνامιών που αποκάλυψε αυτός ο σεισμός θα οδηγήσει στην εφαρμογή κανόνων αντισεισμικής αρχιτεκτονικής. Είναι φυσικό πως μια τέτοιου είδους αντιμετώπιση απαιτεί τεράστια οικονομική βοήθεια αλλά συνάμα κάνει την Τουρκία παγκοσμίως αποδεκτή ως χώρα αποδοχής και υλοποίησης αρχιτεκτονικών και πολεοδομικών προγραμμάτων. Συνάμα δε, δίνει σε ανθρώπους που υποφέρουν ελπίδα και ευκαιρίες εργασίας.

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ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΙΑ ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΟΥ ΛΟΜΠΗ ΣΤΗ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΑ

Το Μάρτιο αυτού του χρόνου ιδρύσαμε το Γερμανο-Κυπριακό Φόρουμ, το οποίο έφερε ως στόχο να υποστηρίξει τις πολιτικές δυνάμεις και στις δύο κοινότητες της Κύπρου, οι οποίες επιδιώκουν την ειρηνική συμβίωση μεταξύ των Τουρκοκυπριών και Ελληνοκυπρίων σε μία επανενωμένη Κύπρο, την ένταξη ολόκληρης της Κύπρου στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, καθώς επίσης και τη σταδιακή αποστρατιωτικοποίηση ολόκληρου του νησιού.

Η πρόσκληση της επίσημης Τουρκοκυπριακής ηγεσίας για συμμετοχή στις ενταξιακές διαπραγματεύσεις από την Κυπριακή Κυβέρνηση αξιολογείται ως σοφή και γενναίοτητα πρόταση

Αυτό ισοδυναμεί αποδοχής και εφαρμογής μιας πολιτικοπολιτικής κοινωνίας στη Κύπρο. Έχει να κάνει με την ευρωπαϊκή ιδέα και αντίληψη. Στην Ευρωπαϊκή οικογένεια δημιουργείται μία νέα δυναμική, η οποία είναι βασισμένη στην αλληλεξάρτηση, αλληλοσεβισμό και στον συνεταιρισμό. Έτσι αυτή η πορεία μπορεί να παίξει καταλυτικό ρόλο και στην Κύπρο, φέρνοντας και τις δύο κοινότητες πιο κοντά τη μία με την άλλη, να αποτελέσει την αχρή για την επίλυση του κυπριακού προβλήματος. Συνγκρόνος, η συμμετοχή της Τ/Κ κοινότητας στην αποστολή της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας μπορεί να βοηθήσει την Τουρκία να προσανατολιστεί προς την Ευρώπη και η μικρή Κύπρος να παρουσιαστεί μ' αυτό το τρόπο ως βοηθητικός βαρύνος στην ενταξιακή πορεία της Τουρκίας. Η έντονη ολόκληρης της Κύπρου στην Ε.Ε. θα συμβάλει στη προώθηση του τουρκικού πολιτισμού, της

μουσουλμανικής θρησκείας και της τουρκικής γλώσσας στην Ευρωπαϊκή Οικονομία, μια μέχρι στιγμής καθαρά δυτική Χριστιανική Ένωση, δημοσιολογώντας μια συνδυαστική γέφυρα με τον μουσουλμανικό λαό.

Η εξωτερική πολιτική της Ελλάδας έχει φαντασία, τόλμη και αποφασιστικότητα

Η μεταφορά των S-300 στην Κρήτη, η στάση της ελληνικής κυβέρνησης στην απαγωγή του Ουαλάν, και στη στρατιωτική επιδρομή και κατοχή του ΝΑΤΟ στο Κόσσοβο, η αχρή ενός Ελληνο-Τουρκακού διαλόγου, η ανθρωπιστική βοήθεια του τουρκικού και ελληνικού λαού στους σεισμόπληκτους, η ενεργός υποστήριξη της Τουρκίας ως υποψήφια χώρα της Ε.Ε., μας δίνει το δικαίωμα να αξιολογήσουμε, ότι η ελληνική κυβέρνηση είναι αποφασισμένη να εγκαταλείψει την πρόην καθαρά αμυντική εξωτερική πολιτική της θέση. Φαίνεται να ξεκινάει με φαντασία και τόλμη μία νέα εξωτερική πολιτική που σπάει κάπου τον παρελθόντος.

Τι προτείνουμε ως Γερμανο-Κυπριακό Φόρουμ στην Ε/Κ πολιτική ηγεσία

Παύ' όλη την αγωνιστική στάση της τουρκικής πλευράς θεωρούμε ότι υπάρχει ακόμη ο χώρος και δυνατότητες πολιτικής κινητικότητας. Θεωρούμε, ότι η Ε/Κ πρέπει να εκσυγχρονιστεί και να γνωστοποιηθεί της θέσεις της Ε/Κ πολιτικής ηγεσίας από το 1989 υπό την ενεργό συμμετοχή της Τ/Κ δημοκρατίας αντιπολίτευσης. Πρέπει να αρχίσουν έστω και τόσο αργά να προετοιμάζει τον Ε/Κ στη νέα Ομόνομη Κυπριακή Πολιτεία.

Θεωρούμε ότι,

1. Πρέπει να δοθούν εγγυήσεις στους Τ/Κ, που έχουν σήμερα στην Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία η και στο εξωτερικό και θέλουν να επαναστατηθούν. Πρέπει να τους προσφέρονται οι ίδιες ευκαιρίες (πολιτικές, αναγνωριστικές, πολιτιστικές). Πρέπει να αναγνωριστούν πραγματικά η τουρκική γλώσσα, η ισλαμική θρησκεία.
2. Πρέπει τα Ε/Κ πολιτικά κόμματα να δέχονται και μέλη και από τις δύο κοινότητες, και να λαμβάνουν μέρος στη πολιτική της νέας χώρας. Οι Τ/Κ να έχουν το δικαίωμα των ελέγχων και εκλέξεσθαι. Ποιον θα είναι το πρώτο Ε/Κ πολιτικό κόμμα, το οποίο θα μπορεί να εννοθεί ή να συνεχιστεί στενά με το πρώτο Τ/Κ πολιτικό κόμμα;
3. Πρέπει να δοθούν πραγματικές ευκαιρίες στους Τ/Κ, οι οποίοι θέλουν να συμβάλουν ενεργά στη διαμόρφωση της νέας πολιτικοπολιτικής κυπριακής κοινωνίας.

Η επαναστατική των δύο κοινοτήτων δημιουργεί μία νέα δυναμική εμπιστοσύνης

Θεωρούμε ότι,

- ο κάθε πολιτισμός θα εμπλουτιστεί την πνευματική ζωή του τόπου και θα βοηθήσει την εξέλιξη μιας σύγχρονης ευρωπαϊκής πολυπολιτισμικής κοινωνίας στην Κύπρο,
- τα μέτρα για απόκτηση αμοιβαίας εμπιστοσύνης θέτοντας θεμελιώδη λόγο για την επανένωση και γ' αυτό πρέπει να εντατικοποιηθούν οι επαφές μεταξύ των κοινοτήτων και να ασφαλιστούν οι σχέσεις τους,

ALMANYA'DA KIBRIS LOBİSİ OLUŞTURULMASI

Bu yılın Mart ayında, Kıbrıs'ın her iki toplumunda, Kıbrıs Türkleri ile Elenlerin yeniden birleşmiş bir adada birlikte yaşamasını, tüm Kıbrıs'ın AB'a üye olması ve ilaveten tüm adanın aşamalı askarleştirilmesini arzulayan siyasi güçleri desteklemiş hedef koyan Alman-Kıbrıs Forumu'nu kurduk.

Kıbrıs hükümeti tarafından, resmi Kıbrıs Türk liderliğine yapılan, üyelik müzakerelerine katılma daveti, akıllı ve cömert bir öneri olarak değerlendiriliyor.

Bu, Kıbrıs'ta çok medeniyetli bir toplumun kabulü ve uygulanması denktir, Avrupa bir fikir ve anlayıştır. Avrupa ailesinde birbirine bağlılıklar ile saygıya ve ortaklığa dayalı yeni bir dinamizm yaratılıyor. Bu nedenle bu süreç iki toplum birbirine daha çok yakınlaştıracak katalizör rol oynayabilir ve Kıbrıs sorununun çözümü için başlangıç olabilir. Şe zamanda, Kıbrıs Türkleri'nin, Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti heyetine katılması ve Avrupa'ya yönelmesinde Türkiye'ye yardımcı olabilir ve bu şekilde küçük Kıbrıs, Türkiye'nin üyelik sürecinde bir sığırta tahsis olarak ortaya çıkabilir. Tüm Kıbrıs'ın AB'a üye olması, Türk medeniyetinin, Müslüman dininin ve Türk dilinin, şu ana kadar bir Batı Hristiyan Birliği olan Avrupa ailesinde iletiletilmesince

katkı sağlayacak ve Müslüman halkla birleştirici bir köprü oluşturmaktadır.

Yunanistan Dışsiyaseti hayal gücü, cesareti ve kararlılığı sahiptir.

S-300'lerin Girişi götürülmesi, Yunan hükümetinin Öcalan'ın kaçırılması ve NATO'nun Kosova'daki saldırısı ile ilgili karşısındaki tutumu, bir Türk Yunan diyalogunun başlamış olması, Türk ve Yunan halklarının depremlere insani yardımları, Türkiye'nin AB'a üye adayı olarak aktif şekilde desteklenmesi, bize, Yunanistan hükümetinin tamamıyla savunması önceki dış siyasi pozisyonunu terktemeye kararlı olduğu değerlendirmesinde bulunma hakkı veriyor. Hayal gücü ve cesaretle, geçmiş tabuları yıkan yeni bir dış siyasetin başladığı görülmüştür.

Alman-Kıbrıs Forumu olarak Kıbrıs Elen Liderliği'ne ne öneriyoruz?

Türk tarafından olumsuz tutumuna rağmen, siyasi hareketlilik sahaları ile olanakların hala daha mevcut olduğu varsayıyoruz. Kıbrıs Elen tarafının, Liderliği 1989' tezlerini, Kıbrıs Türk demokratik muhalefetine aktif katılımıyla çağdaşlaştırmaya ve bunları ilan etmesi gerektiğini görülmüştür. Bu kadar geg de olsa Kıbrıs Elenlerini yeni federal Kıbrıs devletine hazırlanmaya başlaması gerekir.

Şunları Varsayıyoruz:

1. Bağlı Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nde yaşayan veya yurt dışında olup da geri dönmek isteyen Kıbrıs Türkleri'ne garantiler verilmesi gerekir. Aynı fırsatlar (siyasi, mesleki, kültürel) onlara da sağlanmalıdır. Türk dili, İslam dini gerekten tanımlanmalıdır.
2. Kıbrıs Elen siyasi partilerinin her iki toplumdan da üye kabul etmeleri ve yeni ülke siyasetinde yer almaları gerekir. Kıbrıs Türkleri'nin seçme ve seçilme hakkı olsun. İlk Kıbrıs Türk siyasi partisiyle birleşecek veya sıkı işbirliği kuracak ilk Kıbrıs Elen siyasi partisi acaba hangisi olacak?
3. Çok medeniyetli yeni Kıbrıs toplumunun oluşmasına aktif katkı sağlamak isteyen Kıbrıs Türkleri'ne gerçek fırsatlar verilmelidir.

İki toplumun yeniden yakınlaşması yeni bir güven dinamiği yaratıyor.

Şunları Varsayıyoruz:

- Her medeniyet, ülke manevi yaşamını zenginleştirerek ve Kıbrıs'ta çağdaş çok medeniyetli Avrupa bir toplumun gelişmesine yardımcı olacaktır.
- Karşılıklı güven yaratılması önlemleri, yeniden bütünleşmenin temel taşıdır. Bu nedenle,

- η ένδειξη σεβασμού στο πολιτισμό της Τ/Κ κοινότητας και αναγνώριση των μέλων της ως ισότιμους πολίτες (σήφωνα με τις συμφωνίες Ζυρίχης του 1960),
- η εισαγωγή της τουρκικής γλώσσας ως 1ης. Ξένης γλώσσας στην εκπαίδευση της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας,
- η εισαγωγή της τουρκικής γλώσσας ως προγραμματικά επίσημης γλώσσας σε δημόσιες υπηρεσίες (στο εξωτερικό και εσωτερικό),
- η εισαγωγή της τουρκικής γλώσσας σε τηλεοπτικά προγράμματα (π.χ. τουρκικοί υπότιτλοι σε πολιτικές συζητήσεις), ούτως ώστε οι Τ/Κ συμπατριώτες μας που δεν γνωρίζουν την ελληνική γλώσσα, να έχουν τη δυνατότητα να ενημερώνονται για τη Ε/Κ πολιτική γνώμη,
- Η έκδοση ενός μηνιαίου διγλωσσίου περιοδικού με πολιτιστικό, πολιτικό, περιβαλλοντικό περιεχόμενο με στόχο την ορθή αλληλοενόηση,
- Η εκπαίδευση των σχολικών βιβλίων και η κατάργηση εθνικών εννοιών.

Η Ε.Ε. και η Γερμανία μπορούν να παίξουν καθοριστικό ρόλο στην Κύπρο

Οι αποφάσεις του Ελάνειν δίνουν μια νέα δυναμική στις Ευρο-Κυπριακές, Ευρο-Τουρκικές και Ελληνοτουρκικές σχέσεις, η οποία πρέπει να χειριστούν με τόλη χωρίς δισταγία και οι δύο πλευρές, ούτως ώστε να δράσει σε κατεύθυνση για την επανένωση της Κύπρου.

Θεωρούμε ότι,

- η Ε.Ε. δεν πρέπει να επιτρέψει οποιεσδήποτε στρατηγικές επιβιώσεις στην Κύπρο (περιορισμένες η επεκτατικές) και πρέπει να συμβάλει στην ειρηνική λύση του κυπριακού προβλήματος,

- η Ε.Ε. πρέπει να υποστηρίξει την ένταξη της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας στην Ε.Ε.,
- η Ε.Ε. πρέπει μόνο με την νόμιμη και την διεθνή αναγνωρισμένη κυπριακή κυβέρνηση να διεξάγει ενταξιακές συνομιλίες,
- η Ε.Ε. πρέπει να προσφέρει στη Τουρκία συγκεκριμένη προστασία, όσον αφορά πιθανόν ένταξη της στην Ε.Ε., κάτω από καθορισμένες προϋποθέσεις. Η ένταξη της Τουρκίας αναπόκειται στα ενδιαφέροντα και της Ελλάδας και της Κύπρου.

Πώς μπορεί το Γερμανο-Κυπριακό Φόρουμ να υποστηρίξει την Τ/Κ και Ε/Κ πολιτική ηγεσία στην εκπλήρωση των πιο πάνω πολιτικών στόχων;

Το Γερμανο-Κυπριακό Φόρουμ μπορεί να αποτελέσει ένα συνδυαστικό χέρι μεταξύ της Ε/Κ και της Ε.Ε. πολιτικής ηγεσίας και των γερμανικών πολιτικών κομμάτων. Από τις 18.10 μέχρι και τις 22.10.1999 πραγματοποιήσαμε μία πολιτική αποστολή στην Κύπρο, όπου και είχαμε επαφές και με τις δύο κοινότητες (στο ελεύθερο και τουρακοκρατούμενο μέρος του νησιού) με στόχο την αλληλοενόηση. Στις 11/3 και 12/3/2000 οργανώσαμε ένα συνέδριο με θέμα "η κοινωνία του πολίτη", στο οποίο προσελίθησαν πολιτικοί, επιστήμονες, επιχειρηματίες και από τις δύο πλευρές, οι οποίοι έδωσαν μηνύματα ειρήνης και σεβασμού στον κάθε κάτοικο πολίτη. Ο πρόεδρος του Φόρουμ είναι ο κύριος Kuhlwein, πρώην υφυπουργός στην κυβέρνηση του Καρλ-Λάουιν Schmidt και μέχρι και το 1998 βουλευτής στο γερμανικό κοινοβούλιο. Ο συνεργάτης του Φόρουμ από την Τ/Κ κοινότητα είναι ο Kemal Aktunc, ο οποίος καταγόταν από το Δάλη και τώρα κάτοικος στην κατοχόμενη Λευκωσία. Ο συνεργάτης της Ε/Κ κοινότητας

είναι ο κύριος Παντελής Σοφοκλέους, ο οποίος κατάγεται από την κατοχόμενη Μουσουλία και τώρα είναι προσφυγικός κάτοικος Λευκωσίας.

Θεωρούμε ότι,

- πρέπει να βρεθούν τρόποι, ούτως ώστε να ληφθούν υπόψη τα ενδιαφέροντα και των δύο κοινοτήτων στις ενταξιακές διαπραγματεύσεις,
- πρέπει να βρεθούν τρόποι, ούτως ώστε να βελτιωθεί η ενημέρωση της τουρακοκυπριακής κοινότητας για τις ενταξιακές, πλεονεκτήματα και συνέπειες της ένταξης στην Ε.Ε. Γι' αυτό το σκοπό, είναι απαραίτητη μια βελτιωμένη ενημέρωση από πλευράς της Ε.Ε.,
- πρέπει να βρεθούν τρόποι, ούτως ώστε να ληφθεί υπόψη ο πολιτοπολιτισμικός και πολυνηλικός χαρακτήρας της Κύπρου κατά τις παρουσιάσεις της χώρας στο εξωτερικό,
- πρέπει να βρεθούν τρόποι, ούτως ώστε να συμμετέχουν πολίτες και των δύο κοινοτήτων σε διεθνή πολιτιστικά, επιστημονικά και αθλητικά γεγονότα στα πλαίσια μιας "πανκυπριακής" αντιπροσώπευσης,
- πρέπει να βρεθούν τρόποι, ούτως ώστε να εκδίδεται κάθε τρεις μήνες ένα περιοδικό στη γερμανική, ελληνική και τουρακή γλώσσα,
- πρέπει να βρεθούν τρόποι, ούτως ώστε η Κύπρος να λάβει μέρος στον επόμενο διαγωνισμό της Γιουροβίζιον μ' ένα τραγούδι, το οποίο θα τραγουδιόταν το μισό στα ελληνικά και το άλλο μισό στα τουρακά.

*Παντελής Σοφοκλέους
Μηχανικός Πεφρβόλιντος
Υποψήφιος Διδάκτορας
Ινστιτούτο Ψυχολογίας
Πανεπιστήμιο Μπρένσβαϊνγκ Γερμανίας*

toplumlararası temaslar yoğunlaştırılmıdır, ilişkiler sıklaştırılmıdır.

- Kıbrıs Türk toplumunun medeniyetine saygı gösterilmesi ve mensuplarının eşit vatandaşlar olarak tanınması (1960 Zürih Anlaşmaları uyarınca).
- Türk dilinin, Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti eğitimine 1. yabancı dil olarak dahil edilmesi.
- Türk dilinin, kamu servislerine (dışta ve içte) gerçek resmi dil olarak dahil edilmesi.
- Türk dilinin, Elence bilmeyen Kıbrıslı vatandaşlarımızın da Kıbrıs Elen siyasi görüşü hakkında bilgilendirme imkânına sahip olabilmeleri amacıyla televizyon programlarına (ör: siyasi tartışma programlarının Türkçe alt yazılı yayınlanması) dahil edilmesi.
- Karşılıklı doğru bilgilendirme hedefiyle, kültürel siyasi, çevresel içerikli, iki dilde aylık bir dergi yayınlanması.
- Okul kitaplarının çağdaşlaştırılması ve düşmanlık içeren bölümlerin çıkarılması.

AB ve Almanya Kıbrıs'ta belirleyici rol oynayabilir.

Helsinki kararları, Avrupa-Kıbrıs, Avrupa-Türkiye ve Türk-Yunan ilişkilerinde yeni bir dinamik sağlayor. Kıbrıs'ın yeniden birleşmesinde katalizör etkide bulunabilmesi için, bu dinamigi, her iki tarafın da güvensizlik duymadan ele almaları gerekiyor.

Şunları Varsayıyoruz:

- AB'nin Kıbrıs'ta, herhangi bir askeri müdahaleye (sınırlı veya geniş çaplı) izin vermemesi ve Kıbrıs sorununun barışçı çözüme katkı koyması gerekir.
- AB, Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nin üyeliğini desteklemelidir.
- AB sadece, yasal ve uluslararası tanınmış Kıbrıs hükümetiyle üyelik görüşmeleri yapmalıdır.
- AB Türkiye'ye, olası üyeliği ile ilgili belirlenmiş ön şartlar altında somut perspektif sağlamalıdır.
- Türkiye'nin üyeliği hem Yunanistan hem Kıbrıs'ın üyeliğine bağlıdır.
- Alman-Kıbrıs Forumu, yukarıdaki siyasi hedeflere ulaşılmasında Kıbrıs Türk ve Kıbrıs Elen siyasi liderliklerini nasıl destekleyebilir?
- Alman-Kıbrıs Forumu, Kıbrıs Elen ve Kıbrıs Türk siyasi liderlikleri ile Almanya siyasi partileri arasında bağlantı halkası olabilir. 18.10.1999 - 22.10.1999 tarihleri arasında Kıbrıs'a siyasi bir ziyarette bulundu ve karşılıklı bilgi alışverişi hedefiyle her iki topluma temaslarda bulundu. (Adann özgür ve Türklerin elindeki kesimlerinde). 11.3 - 12.3.2000 tarihleri arasında "sivil toplum" (vatandaş toplumu) adlı bir toplantı organize edeceğiz. Buna her iki toplumdan siyasetler, bilim adamları, işadamları davet edilecek ve barış ile her Kıbrıs vatandaşına saygı mesajları verecektir.
- Forum'un Başkanı Başbakan Schmid'tin eski müstaharı ve 1998 yılına kadar Almanya

Parlamentosunda milletvekili olan Sayın Kuhlwein'dir.

Şunları Varsayıyoruz:

- Üyelik müzakerelerinde her iki toplumun çıkarlarını dikkate alınmasını sağlayacak yöntemler bulunmalıdır.
- Kıbrıs Türk toplumunun, AB üyeliğinin avantajları, fırsatları ve sonuçları hakkında bilgilendirilmesini iyileştirecek yöntemler bulunmalıdır.
- Ülkenin dış tanıtımında, Kıbrıs çok medeniyetli ve politiknet karakterini dikkate alınmasını sağlayacak yöntemler bulunmalıdır.
- Uluslararası kültürel, bilimsel ve sportif olaylara, tüm Kıbrıs'ı temsil edecek bir heyet çerçevesinde her iki toplum vatandaşlarının da katılımını sağlayacak yöntemler bulunmalıdır.
- Her 3 ayda bir Almanca, Elence ve Türkçe dillerinde bir dergi yayınlanması yöntemleri bulunmalıdır.
- Önümüzdeki Grand Prix d'Eurovision yarışmasına, Kıbrıs'ın yansı Elence, yansı Türkçe söyleyecek bir şarkı ile katılımını sağlayacak yöntemler bulunmalıdır.

*Pantelis Sofokleus
Çevre Mühendisi
Aday Doktor
Almanya Braunsweig Üniversitesi
Hidroloji Enstitüsü*

Πόθος για Ειρήνη

Είχα και εγώ την ευκαιρία να παρεβρεθώ σ' αυτόν τον φανταστικό κόσμο, τον παντελώς διαφορετικό από αυτόν που ζει ο καθένας μας, στο "Seeds of Peace camp" το καλοκαίρι που μόλις πέρασε. Εκεί βαπτίστηκα ως μέλος του αγώνα που θα βάλει τις βάσεις για το τίππιο έργο της αποκατάστασης ενός ανεπανόληπου αγαθού στο νησί μας, της ειρήνης.

Βρέθηκα να μοιράζομαι ώρες της ζωής μου με παιδιά από το βόρειο τμήμα του νησιού μας, που για είκοσι πέντε ολόκληρα χρόνια είχα μάθει να αποκαλώ εχθρούς μου. Μέσα όμως σε τρεις εβδομάδες είχα υποβιβάσει μια νέα στάση απέναντι τους που βασιζόταν στην αγάπη και την κατανόηση, προκαλώντας έτσι την αποδιάρθρωση κάθε είδους εχθρότητας που είχε δημιουργηθεί και κατακλίνει τον ψυχικό μου κόσμο. Είχα μάθει ότι η σύμπτωση μαζί τους είναι εφικτή, είχα μάθει να ακούω, να συζητώ και να συμβιβάζομαι κάτω από συνθήκες έντασης. Ανακάλυψα ότι τα παιδιά αυτά έχουν τους φόβους από τους οποίους διακατέχεται κάθε νέος που ανησυχεί για το μέλλον του. Αυτό όμως που μας ένωνε ακόμα περισσότερο ήταν τα γεγονότα ότι και οι δύο κοινότητες κουβαλούσαμε τον άκρατο πόθο για ειρήνη στον τόπο μας και αυτό ακριβώς μας αποκάλυπτε ένα κοινό δράδιο.

Επιστρέφοντας πίσω, βρίσκω τον εαυτό μου μεταμορφωμένο. Να αγνοεί την κατάκτηση αγαθών που προσφέρουν στον άνθρωπο προσωρινή ευτυχία κι ολολήρωση και να νοιάζεται για αγαθά ανώτερα των υλικών, των οποίων η απόλαυση καθίσταται διαρκέστερη και καθαρότερη από κάθε άλλη ηδονή. Ερχομαι έτσι να χαρακτηρίσω τον ρόλο αυτής της κατασκήνωσης ανθρωπιστικού αφοι προκαλεί την ηθική μεταμόρφωση του ανθρώπου. Γι' αυτό εισηγάμαι στον καθένα να βιώσει αυτή την εμπειρία και τότε θα καταλάβει και θα συλλάβει καλύτερα τι πάει να πει πραγματική και βαθύτερη ευτυχία.

Μαρί Κωνσταντή
SOP camper
1st session '99



ΒΑΡΗΣ ΤΥΤΚΥΣ

Γεχέν γαζ, ηεπίμζίν γαζαδίγιναν ταμानीyla farklı bir dünya olan "Seeds of Peace Camp"ta bulunma fırsatına ben de sahip oldum. Orda, eşsiz bir nimetin, barışın anlamında yeniden tesis kutsal görevinin temelini atacak mücadelenin üyesi olarak adlandırıldım.

25 koca yıl boyunca düşmanlarını diye hitap etmeyi öğrendiğim, adamızın kuzey kesiminden çocuklarla zamanımı paylaşmak durumunda kaldım. Ancak 3 hafta içerisinde, onlar karşısında sevgi ve anlayışa dayanan bir tutum benimsemiştim ve bu, ruhsal dünyamı da yaratılıp onu saran her türlü düşmanlığın dağılmasına neden olmuştu. Onlarla birlikte yaşamamın mümkün olduğunu, gergin koşullar altında dinlemeyi, tartışmayı ve uzlaşmayı öğrenmiştim.

Bu çocukların, geleceğinden endişe eden her gencin korularına sahip olduklarını keşfettim. Ancak bizi daha da birleştiren, her iki toplumu olarak, ülkemiz için dayanılmaz barış tutkusunu yaşıyor olmamız gerçeğiydi ve işte bu, bize ortak bir yol gösteriyordu.

Gerçi dönmemin ardından kendimi değişmiş, insana geçici mutluluk ve tamamlık sağlayan nimetlere önem vermeyip, her türlü şehvetten daha kalıcı ve daha temiz tadına varılan, neshellikten daha üstün erdemlerle ilgilenir buluyorum. Bu nedenle kampın rolünü insan estetikçisi diye nitelemek istiyorum. Çünkü insanın manevi metamorfозuna neden oluyor. Bu yüzden herkese bu deneyimi yaşamalarını öneriyorum. O zaman gerçek ve daha derin mutluluğun ne olduğunu, daha iyi anlayıp, telafuz edecektirler.

Mari Konstantino
SOP Camper
1st Session 99



MAINE, η αλλαγή της ζωής μου

Εγώ να κοιμάμαι δίπλα από έναν Τουρκοκύπριο, να μιλάω, να παίζω να να τραγουδάω μαζί του! Αν μου το λέγανε εδών μήνες πριν αν και από καιρό έλεγα ότι είμαι υπέρ της ενσωματώσεως, χωρίς μάλλον να το φάω ποτέ. Ίσως και να ανατριχίλαζα. Τώρα όμως τα πράγματα είναι διαφορετικά. Απλά μια πρωτόγνωρη εμπειρία που είχα στη μακρινή πολιτεία Maine των ΗΠΑ, τόσο εγώ όσο και 21 άλλοι νεαροί που είχαμε την τύχη να επιλεγούμε από το Fulbright Commission για να λάβουμε μέρος στην κατασκήνωση Seeds of Peace.

Ξεκίνησαμε το βράδυ της 2ης Ιουνίου με ανόμοια συναισθήματα. Φόβο, αγωνία και χαρά. Στο αεροπλάνο η σκέψη μας ήταν συνεχώς στο τι θα αντιμετωπίζαμε. Και πάλι όμως δεν ξέραμε τι να σκεφτούμε...

Με το που πατήσαμε το πόδι μας στην κατασκήνωση νιώσαμε ζεστασιά από την υποδοχή που μας έκαναν. Η ιαχή "Καλωσήρθατε Κύπριοι" τράνταζε το χώρο. Πρώτοι μου συστηθήκαν οι counsellors μου, ο Alex από τη Νέα Υόρκη και ο Ben από τη Βοστώνη. Αυτοί με βοήθησαν να εγκατασταθώ και με ξεναγήσαν στην κατασκήνωση. Αργότερα γνώρισα τους συγκατάκτους μου, τον Γιαννί από το Ισραήλ, τον Αλά και τον Άμρο από την Παλαιστίνη, τον Τζαμάλ και τον Σάιμη από την Ιορδανία και τον Καρίνη από την Αλγυρία.

"Μα πού είναι ο Μεχμέτ;" ρώτησα απορημένος διαβάζοντας το όνομα στην καρτέλίστα πάνω από το κρεβάτι του Τ/κύπριου συγκατάκτου μου. "Οι τουρκοκύπριοι έρχονται αργά τη νύκτα", απάντησε ο Alex που κατάλαβε την κάποια νευρικότητα που είχα.

Την επόμενη μέρα ξυπνάμενους είδα ένα ψηλό αγόρι με καφέ μαλλιά. "Δεν μπορεί να είναι αυτός" σκέφτηκα, "δεν είναι ούτε καντός ούτε πολύ μελαχρινός".

Πρώτος συστήθηκε αυτός. "Γεια σου είμαι ο Μεχμέτ" είπε χαμογελώντας. "Κι εγώ ο Αντρέας" απάντησα.

Αργότερα έμαθα κάτι συγκλονιστικό. Εγώ κι ο Μεχμέτ γεννηθήκαμε την ίδια μέρα στην ίδια πόλη και ζούμε 5-6 χλμ μακριά κι όμως χρειαστήκαμε να ταξιδέψουμε 13.000 μίλια για να συναντηθούμε. Σημ-αγά μέρα από τις συζητήσεις αλλά και από την καθημερινή ζωή στην κατασκήνωση κατάλαβα ότι δεν διαφερόμαστε καθόλου. Είσι χωρίς να το συνειδητοποιήσω μοιραζόμαστε την κοινή μανία μου για τον Offspring με τον Dogus, έκανα τρέλλες στο δωμάτιο με τον Εραν και είχα πολλές φορές συζητήσεις με την Sevdal...

Αυτό όμως που εύκολα εντόπισα ήταν ότι τις ιστορίες που ακούμε εμπρός για τους "κακούς" Τουρκοκύπριους τις ακούνε κι αυτοί ίδιος και απαράλλακτες με την διαφορά ότι οι κακοί είναι οι Ελληνοκύπριοι. Κι έτσι ήταν πλέον ξεκάθαρο μπροστά μου ότι από τον καιρό που γεννησαστε φυτεύεται μέσα μας ο σπόρος του μίσους. Στο τέλος αν κανείς το σκεπτεί καλά καταλήγουμε να πολεμάμε μάσκες διαβόλου που η κόβη πλευρά δημοσύργησε για την άλλη λέγοντας ίσως την μισητή αλήθεια...

Αν ρωτούσα τον εαυτό μου γιατί γράφω σήμερα αυτό το κείμενο πολλοί είναι οι λόγοι που θα μπορούσα να δώσω όμως υπάρχει ένας που ξεχωρίζει. Ότι δεν θέλω απλά να συναντηθεί μια φορά το μήνα με τους Τουρκοκύπριους φίλους μου αλλά θέλω να έρθει σύντομα η μέρα που το νησί μας θα ενωθεί και θα τους συναντώ όποτε θέλω...

Αντρέας Πόμπας

MAINE, Hayatımın Değişimi

Ben, bir Kıbrıslı Türk'ün yanında uyuyayım, Onunla konuşayım, oynaşayım şarkı söyleyeyim! Bunu bana altı ay önce söyledilerdi. Bir süreden beridir, belki de hiç araştırmadan. Yeniden yakınlaşmadan yana olduğumu söylüyorsaydım da, Herhalde tüylerim diken diken olurdu. Ancak şimdiki durumlar farklıdır. Sebabi ise, ABD'nin uzak eyaleti Maine'de Yaşadığım eşsiz bir deneyimdir. Hem benim, hem Fulbright Commission tarafından, Seeds of Peace kampına katılmak üzere seçilen

Diğer 21 gencin yaşadıklarıdır. 29 Haziran gecesi karmaşık duygularla, Yola çıkık neşe, belirsizlik ve korkularla. Uçakta hep neyle karşılaşacağımızı düşünüyorduk. Ama yine de ne düşüneceğimizi bilmiyorduk...

Kampa ayak basar basmaz, gördüğümüz karşılamadan sıcaklık duyduk, "Hoşgeldiniz Kıbrıslılar" naraları yerli-göçlü sarstı. Bana önce counsellorslarım New Yorklu Alex ile Bostonlu Ben tanıştırdı, onlar yerleşmeye yardım ettiler ve kampı geldirdi. Daha sonra oda arkadaşlarım İsrailli'den Yaniv, Filistin'den Ala ile Amro, Ürdün'den Camil ile Sammi ve Mısır'dan Karin ile tanıştım.

Çaresizlik içinde "Mehmet nerede?" diye sordum, Kıbrıslı Türk oda arkadaşımın yatağı üzerindeki kartıçka ismini okuduğum zaman. Duyduğum huzursuzluğu anıyan Alex, "Kıbrıs Türkleri gece geç saatlerde gelecek" dedi.

Erfesi gün uyanınca kahverengi saçlı uzun bir delikanlı gördüm. "O olamaz ne kşadır ne de çok esmer" diye düşündüm. Önce o kendini tanıttı ve "selam ben Mehmet" dedi gülümseyerek. "Ben de Andreas" diye yanıtladım. Daha sonra sarı saçlı birşey öğrendim. Ben ve Mehmet aynı gün aynı kentte doğduk ve 5-6 km mesafede yaşıyoruz. Ancak tanışmak için 13 bin mil seyahat etmemiz gerekli.

Yavaş yavaş, hem konuşmalar hem kamptaki günlük yaşam sayesinde hiç farkımız olmadığını anladım. Böylece bilincinde olmadan, Doğuşla ortak Offspring tutkumu paylaşıyor, Eran'la odada çılgınlıklar yapıyor, Sevdal ile saatlerce sohbet ediyordum...

Kalayca yarattığım tespit, bizim "kötü" Kıbrıs Türkleri hakkında duyduğumuz hikayelerin, tipatıp aynısını onlar da, kötünün Kıbrıs Elenleri olduğunu farkıyla duyduğudur. Böylece, doğduğumuz andan itibaren nefret tohumunun içimize eklildiği artık net şekilde karşındaydı.

Sonuçta çok iyi düşünülmesi halinde, tarafların belki de gerçeklerin yansını söyleyerek birbirleri için yarattıkları şeytan maskelerine karşı savaşışımızın neticesine varırz...

Kendime bugün bu yazıyı niye yazdığımı sorarsam, gösterebileceğim nedenler çoktur. Ancak bir tanesinin yeri ayndır. Bu neden, Kıbrıslı Türk dostlarımla sadece ayda bir buluşmayı değil, adamızın birleşeceği ve onları istediği zaman görebileceğim günün çabuk gelmesini istememdir.

Andreas Bombacis

Cyprus

Getting to know my country

I remember, I used to look out of the window in my room, towards the Pentadaktilos (five finger) mountain. I was always wandering «what's there behind these mountains, who is living there, why am I not allowed to go?»

Well, the first question was answered last year in the Seeds of Peace summer camp. I met my supposed enemies. From the begging I was feeling very comfortable next to them. As the days were passing we became good friends and we all realised that we weren't that different from each other. The reality was completely different then of what I had been taught in school from my fanatic teachers.

There was always the possibility to pass the green line thanks to my mother who is German. I have a German passport and I would most probably be allowed to go to the north of Cyprus. To pass the borders though I would have to sign that I recognise the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. I didn't want to do that for a long time. Everybody was against that, my friends at school, my teachers and even my parents weren't so happy about that. I called at the Fulbright commission and they advised me not to do it. So the matter was closed for a long time.

Everything changed when my religion teacher at school invited me to go with him and his family to the North of Cyprus. He is allowed to go because his parents still live there. His parents are some of the few people who stayed at their homes during and after the war risking their lives. I wouldn't even have to sign anything.

I was so exited about that. Before starting the complicated procedure that had to be done in the Greek side, we went to the northern Cyprus checkpoint to ask them if they would allow me to pass the green line. At the checkpoint there was a really nice officer, he said that most probably there wouldn't be the slight difficulty in passing to the other side. After that I was running around Nicosia with my mum trying to arrange everything. To get all the papers and permissions from the police headquarters.

The day came when I was going to see the part of my country that I had never seen before. I was so happy. When I arrived at the checkpoint there was only a young woman there. I showed her the papers she looked at me very surprised. She picked up the phone and talked for about ten minutes to somebody. Then she tuned to my side and just said «no, it's not possible».

I was so disappointed I felt like crying. I went back home and straight to bed. It was the first

time in my life when I really felt how it is when your human rights are being trampled upon. The hole day I was depressed.

I didn't want to give up though. I would fight for my rights. I didn't care anymore about signing and stuff like that. I don't really care how many states there are in Cyprus. I only want to be allowed to go wherever I want in my country, to see my friends and I want all the people in Cyprus to be happy.

Next day I wrote to Mete an e-mail informing him that I would try again to pass the borders. This time without my teacher. I would try to go over just for one day.

Two days later I was at the checkpoint again. Thank god there was the nice officer again. I told him what had happened, that this woman didn't allow me to pass the green line. He looked very sad and said to me "don't worry I will arrange it".

And so he did. The only a bit silly role was that we had to go everywhere with the taxi. Mete, Baris, Ahmet and Yalin were waiting for me. They where very happy that everything worked out in the end.

We got into the taxi and the taxi driver asked «where do you want to go?» my friends answered as if it was an everyday thing «to Kyrenia». It was such a weird feeling. I was going to Kyrenia. Heading towards Kyrenia we drove through Nicosia. Nicosia (Lefkosia) in the north of Cyprus is like a small village in the south of Cyprus or one could say that it is Nicosia 50 years ago. It is totally different. Small shops, simple people walking around and the old people sitting in the coffee shops enjoying the sun. The women staying at home cleaning the house and gossiping with their neighbour

friends. I could say that it is the Cyprus I heard my grandmother talk about. The friendly and nice atmosphere of the simplicity without the tension of the moderate world.

After a few minutes we were out of Nicosia. A long wide road was laying in front of us. It reminded me of one of these endless roads in USA. The only thing that was stopping this road was the five finger mountain that was getting bigger and bigger every minute. It was amassing. As we were going uphill the road was getting thinner. There was hardly any traffic. Just a few other cars which we overtook



with grate speed. The taxi driver was a really funny guy. The best taxi driver as he called himself! Our first stop was at Saint Hilarion castle. There I dragged everybody to the top. I think on the way up there they were regretting the minute they met me. Anyway it was a good work out. The view was fantastic. I could see Kyrenia in the distance, the castle and the sea. I just couldn't stop taking photographs. I wanted to show to everybody, to all my friends who don't have this chance, what a beautiful island we are living on. Hoping that in this way I could get their attention to do something to be able to see this beautiful places with their own eyes. When I say that I don't mean war of anything this kind. I mean to work hard to bring peace to this island. That is the only was and we can only achieve that if we work hard together with respect to the person next to us no matter what their religion is or which language they are talking.

I could see everything that my grandmother used to tell me when I was a little child. Now I understood why it was her only dream to return to her house to the north of Cyprus. Unfortunately she died without being able to make her only wish come true.

When we reached the top we sat under a tree's shade. The astonishing view was laying in front of us. We just sat there without talking. Each one of us was absorbed in his own thoughts. The day was growing and it was getting warmer and warmer.

It was hard for me to believe that in the 16 years of my life I didn't yet see the whole of my country although I have travelled half around the world across oceans and continents.

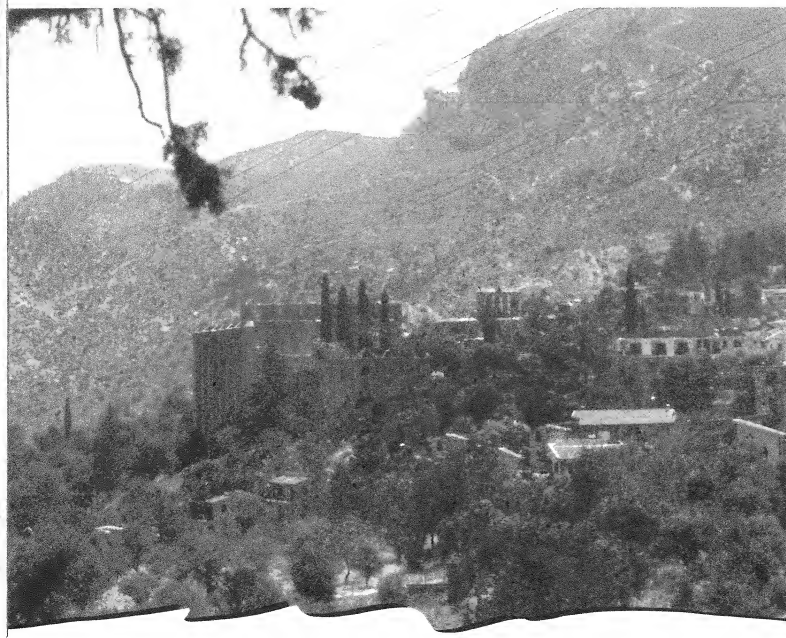
We all regretted that we hadn't brought out bathing suits along so that we could have a swim in Kyrenia

Our next stop was Kyrenia. We had lunch at the port of Kyrenia. At a simple but beautiful restaurant. My friends invited me for lunch and I can say that I had one of the best fish ever in my life. The music in the background was the same music the young people listen in the south of Cyprus. Techno, rock and that kind of music people listen in clubs.

After lunch we visited the Kyrenia castle and then drove to Bellapais. It was very interesting to see all this places. I loved it.

At five o'clock I had to be back. The permission was until 5 o'clock.

I said goodbye to my friends. It was like saying goodbye for a long time. I had the same feeling as when you are at the airport and you know you are not going to see each other for a really long time because you are going to be so far away from each other. It is funny because we only live one or two kilometres away from each other.



Normally we could meet every day without the slightest difficulty. Go to school together, have parties what I mean is to coexist. But unfortunately because of some stupid old people who want to stay in the memory of the people as heroes we have to live separated from each other with a dead zone and some soldiers in-between.

When we had said goodbye I started walking away from my friends. Then I stopped and looked around, I saw them standing there. All together ready to return to their life, to their routine. A sad feeling overcame me. Who cares? Who cares if I can see my friends? Who cares if Cyprus is united or not. Nobody. Only some crazy dreamers who really believe that they can change the world. Including me and my 5 friends.

What do people care about these days? Money, clothes, going out, eating.

I turned around again and continued walking. Through the UN zone, the dead zone where nobody lives. Where you can hear nothing but the leaves of the trees shaking by the wind. A depressing feeling.

Then it was all the same again. I came back to my world. As if I had never been away, or was it as if I had been missing for years? I don't know. I felt different from the people around me. I felt as if I just had done something they might never be able to do. I took a taxi and went home.



Forgive me

I invited you.
You did not come.
I made a cake.
I had no guests.
I am still waiting.

You invited me.
I never got the invitation.
I was not able to see you.
It was misty, cloudy and dusty
... behind Pentadaktylos

There were too many lights.
Every time I turned my eyes
the sun blinded me.
You never showed up.
I was not sure if you existed.

When I was walking today
my body was heavy.
Suddenly, I saw a shade that
resembled a human figure.
I walked a little faster to reach it.

The closer I reached
the more I identified a person.
I walked faster.
I recognized my friend.
I smiled and I walked even faster.

Now, I know you.
When I see you again,
I will run to you.
If I do not run fast
... forgive me.

My muscles are stiff,
untrained...
for this kind of running.
Forgive me, I just learned
how to walk.

Athanasia Kythreotou
(May 21 1999, Pittsburg)
Conflict Resolution Workshop organized by Fulbright.)

Αρκετοί θα πουν ότι στην ηλικία των 20 ετών που είμαι δεν μπορώ να έχω πολιτικές πεποιθήσεις και ούτε καν μπορώ να κρίνω το όρθο απ' το λάθος όσον αφορά το κυπριακό πρόβλημα. Έχω όμως όνειρα τα οποία δεν χρειάζονται διδασκάλους στη νομική ή στις πολιτικές επιστήμες με τη χρήση της λογικής. Όνειρα για ένα μέλλον λαμπρό για την Κύπρο μας, όνειρα, που αν κάποιος δεν τα αναμείξει σε κομματικούς διαχειρισμούς, μπορεί να επιφέρουν την γαλήνη στην πολυτάραχη γη μας, μια προπύλαιος να οδηγήσουν σε μια δίκαιη και βιώσιμη λύση για τους ΚΥΠΡΙΟΥΣ.

Ναι, κύριοι! Το αμφιβάλλετε ότι Ε/κ και Τ/κ είναι αδελφία; Αμφιβάλλετε ότι χωρίς καμία ανάμιξη από την Τουρκία και την Ελλάδα οι Κύπριοι μπορούν να ζήσουν μαζί; Πάρτε το παράδειγμα των μικτών χωριών πριν το 1974. Ε/κ και Τ/κ δούλευαν μαζί, έτρωγαν ο ένας στο σπίτι του άλλου, παντρεύονταν, διασκεδάζαν, έπιναν τούρκικο καφέ στον «καφενέ» παίζοντας «τάβλι»... Κανείς ξένος δεν μπορούσε να ξεχωρίσει τον Αχμέτ από τον Κωστάκη ως Ε/κ και Τ/κ.

Να σας φέρω ακόμη ένα, πιο πρόσφατο, παράδειγμα. Το 1997 έγινε η πρώτη συνάντηση Ε/κ και Τ/κ ερήβων στην οποία και έλαβα μέρος, περισσότερο από περιέργεια παρά από το ότι πίστευα ότι θα βρiskaμε κάτι κοινό. Ζούσα όμως σε μια ουτοπία. Όχι μόνο βρήκαμε κοινά σημεία στα ενδιαφέροντα και στη γλώσσα με και αρκετές πεποιθήσεις μας σχετικά με το μείζον πρόβλημα μας συνέκλιναν. Η χαρά μου ήταν πικρή. Γιατί να είμαι Κύπριος και να μην γνωρίζω αυτούς τους Κύπριους, να μην μπορώ να τους συναντήσω όποτε και όπου θέλω; Γιατί να πσώ στην καλοστημένη παγίδα αυτών που τους θέλουν θανάσιμους εχθρούς μας; Γιατί οι άλλοι που βρίσκονται στην ίδια μοίρα που βρισκόμαστε και εγώ να μη μπορούν να ανακαλύψουν την αλήθεια και γιατί αυτή η προπαγάνδα όσον αφορά τους Τ/κ από μερικούς μερικούς; Ένας Ισραηλινός δημοσιογράφος είπε κάποτε για τους Αραβες και τους Εβραίους πως δεν πολεμούσαν έναν τον άλλο. Αντί αυτού, πολεμούσαν τις μάσκες του διαβόλου που ζωγράφιζε ο ένας στο πρόσωπο του άλλου... Γιατί πράττουμε κι εμείς το ίδιο;

Πιστεύω ακράδαντα ότι οι διακονιστικές συναντήσεις και συνομιλίες μπορούν να οδηγήσουν σε μια λύση του Κυπριακού προβλήματος. Αν όχι, θα αποτελέσουν τουλάχιστον γερά θεμέλια για την επόμενη γενιά. Η συζήτηση και η ανταλλαγή απόψεων θα οδηγήσουν στην κατανόηση των φοβών και των ανειρών των δύο πλευρών. Αυτό φυσικά χρειάζεται πολλή δουλειά και υποχώρησης και από τις δύο πλευρές. Όπως δηλαδή και οι Ε/κ δεν εμπιστεύονται τους έποικους και τον κ. Ντενκtaş, έτσι και οι Τ/κ φοβούνται τους Ελληνες και τον Αρχιεπίσκοπο Χρυσόστομο. Για να μην παρεξηγηθώ, δεν ελπίζω ούτε και πιστεύω σε μια συμβίωση με τους έποικους εκ Τουρκίας, που άλλωστε δεν τους συμπαθούν ούτε και οι Τ/κ αφού τυγχάνουν ιδιαίτερης, ευνοϊκής φροντίδας από το καθεστώς της Αγκυρας και τους έμπιστους του στις καταχόμενες περιοχές.

Δεν θέλω τα παιδιά του αύριο να ονειρεύονται τον αέρα της αλλαγής όπως τον ονειρεύονται εγώ τώρα. Απαιτώ να τον ζήσουν. Και θα τον ζήσουν αν όλοι μαζί προσπαθήσουμε για ένα καλύτερο αύριο. Ας φανούμε λιγότερο εγωιστές, ας προσπαθήσουμε να κατανοήσουμε – όχι να ενδυναμώσουμε – ο ένας τις φοβίες του άλλου, ας δείξουμε περισσότερη ανθρωπιά ... ΜΑΖΙ, και μόνο μαζί, Ε/κ και Τ/κ, μπορούμε να τα καταφέρουμε. Ένα κύμα από μόνο του δεν μπορεί να προκαλέσει την τρικυμία, μα πολλά μαζί μπορούν να φέρουν τα πάντα – κάτω. Όπως γκρεμίστηκε το τείχος του Βερολίνου έτσι και εμείς μπορούμε να γκρεμίσουμε τα «τείχη» που μας χωρίζουν και να ζήσουμε ελεύθεροι. Ελεύθεροι αλλά μαζί. Χάτε!

Γιώργος Βελεσιάνος

Βίρκοζ, bulduğum 20 yaşında siyasi inançlara sahip olamayacağımı ve Kıbrıs sorununda doğru ile yanlış ayrı edemeyeceğimi söyleyecektir. Ancak hukuk veya siyasi ilimleri değil, mantığı gerektiren rüyalarım var. Kıbrısız için parlak gelecek rüyalar, parti kavgalarına kanştırılmadıkları zaman, çilekçü ülkemize sküneti getirebilecek ve herşeyden önce KIBRISLILAR için adil ve yaşayabilir bir çözümde yol açabilecek rüyalar.

Evet beyler! Kıbrıs Türkleri ve Elenlerinin kardeş olduklarından şüphe mi ediyorsunuz? Türkiye ile Yunanistan'ın karışmaması halinde Kıbrıslılar'ın birlikte yaşayabileceklerinden şüpheniz mi var? 1974 öncesi karma köylerini örnek alın. Kıbrıslı Elenler ile Kıbrıslı Türkler birlikte çalışıyor, birbirlerinin evinde yeyip-içiyor, evleniyor, evleniyor ve 'kahvehanede', 'tavla' oynatarak Türk kahvesi içiyorlardı. Hiçbir yabancı Ahmet ile Kostakis'i, Kıbrıslı Elen ve Kıbrıslı Türk olarak birbirinden ayırt etmiyordu.

Size daha yakın geçmişten bir örnek daha vereyim. 1977'de Kıbrıslı Türk ve Kıbrıslı Elen gençlerin ilk buluşması gerçekleşti. Benim de katıldığım bu buluşmada ortak bişeyler bulacağımız nancından ziyade kuşku duyuyordum. Ancak bir ütopya da yaşıyordum. Hem ilgi alanlarımız hem dilde ortak noktalar bulmakla kalmadık, büyük sorunumuzla ilgili çok inançımız da ötüştüyordu. Sevencim acıydı. Niye Kıbrıslı olup ta bu Kıbrıslıları tanıyamayayım, onlarla istediğimiz zaman istediğimiz yerde buluşamayayım? Niye onları can düşmanımızmış gibi göstermek isteyenlerin iyi planlanmış tuzağına düşüym? Niye benimle aynı kaderi paylaşan değerleri de gerçeği keşfedemesinler ve bağızları tarafından Kıbrıs Türkleri ile ilgili bu propaganda nede? İsrailli bir gazeteci bızamanlar Arapları ile İzzaililer için, birbirleriyle değil, birbirlerinin yüzüne gızdıkları şeytan maskeleriyle savaşıklarını söyledi. Niye biz de aynısını yapıyoruz?

Toplumlarası buluşma ve görüşmelerin Kıbrıs sorununda bir çözüme yol açabileceklerine şiddetle inanıyorum. Bu olmasa da, en azından gelecek nesil için sağlan nesiller olacaktır. Tartışma ve görüş alış-veriş, iki tarafın korku ve hayallerinin anlaşılmasına yol açacak. Bu doğal olarak çok iş ve her iki taraftan da tavizlere gerektiriyor. Yani Kıbrıs Elenlerinin yerleşiklere ve Denkaşa güvenmemesi gibi Kıbrıs Türkleri de Yunanlılar ve Başpiskopos Hrisostomostan korkuyor. Yanlış anlaşılmayayım diye söylüyorum; Ankara rejimi ve işkal bölgesindeki adamlar tarafından özel yanlı bir muamele gördükleri için, Kıbrıs Türkleri'nin de sempati duymadığı, Türkiye'li yerleşiklerle birlikte bir yaşama inanmıyor ve ummuyorum...

Yarının çocuklarının, benim şu anda hayal ettiğim gibi, değişim havasını hayal etmelerini istemiyorum. Onu yaşamalarını istiyorum ve hepimiz birlikte daha iyi bir yarın için cabalarsak, yaşayacaklardır.

Daha az egoist görünelim, birbirimizin korkularını-güçlendirmeye değil-anlamaya çalışalım ve daha çok insanlık gösterelim... Kıbrıslı Elenler ve Kıbrıslı Türkler BİRLİKTE ve sadece birlikte başarabiliriz. Tek başına bir dalga fırtınayı yaratamaz, ancak birlikte birçok dalga altını üstüne getirebilir. Berlin duvarı nasıl yıkıldıysa o şekilde biz de bizi ayıran "duvarları" yıkabiliriz ve özgür yaşayabiliriz. Özgür ancak birlikte...Hade!

Yorgos.....Veletsianos

BARİŞ AĞAÇLARI

Az sayıda, şuraya-buraya serpilmiş, başka dönemlerden kalma ve bir yerin ucunda unutulmuşlar.

Tüm bu taş yıllar boyunca yalnız bir hareketsizliğe mahkum, yerli ve yabancı her türlü rüzgarın cinnetine sabırla dayandılar.

Çorak ve susuz toprağa kök salmış, uzun zamandan yarı sararmış yapraklar ve kırık dallarla, inatla ayakta duruyorlardı. Umud dolu...

Yapay yüzeyli "sefilliklerinin" aksine, çorak toprağın altında ve görgüsüz bakışlardan uzak, beklenmeyen ve bitmeyen bir güç saklıyorlardı.

"Kökler" derin ve kendi topraklarının merhametli karnında güçlü örtülmüştü. Bu yılların eskitemediği, bitmez güç, onları hala ayakta tutuyordu. Bazıları umutlarını kasmıyorduydu da... Bağlıları varlıklarını satıyorduydu da...

Yaprakları ortak gözyaşlarının tuzundan sarardıysa da, kökler hala sağlamdı. İyi tutunuyor ve bekliyorlardı.

Sonunda haklı çıktılar. Bu kadar yıllık beklemeye değiyordu.

Katı çorak topraklarda arazi aniden hayat doldu. Yaşamın bizzat kendisinden gelen... Umut yetiştirdi. Gözyaşlarındaki tuz tatlı ümit oldu.

"Kalosories file", "Hoşgeldin be gardaş", "How are you my old friend", "Burada duranı tanıyormusun? Komşumuz Hüseyin'dir. Birlikte büyüdük."

Bu kadar yıl her türlü rüzgarın altında sürünen, kuru ve cılız ağaçlarıyla, dişleri dökmüş orman, bugün kasım-kasım kashılıyor. Çılgınlık, türküler, müzikler, umut ve daha çok beklenti ile çinliyor.

Kucaklar sonuna kadar açılıyor ve insanlar içine gömülüyordu. Bazıları bir göz yaşını, bazıları ise sevincini saklamak için.

Birden zaman durdu. Çok yavaş ilerliyordu. O zamanki gibi. Dün gibi. Aynı mahalledeki gibi sadece gündelik endişesiyle... Ancak o zamanki kuru ekmek, o kadar tatlıydı ki, lezzetti, hale daha onu tadanların anılarında yüzlüyor.

Her iki "tarafatın" insanların oluşturduğu nehir, umut ağaçlarının altında birleşti ve köklerini umut damlacıklarıyla suladı. Tesadüfen bakışlarını yukarıya çevirenler, korku kuşlarını aşan umut güvercinlerinin, ağaçların dallarında kayıpsızca oturdıklarını hayretle gördüler.

O zaman, bu insanların kalplerinde rüyalarını ikiye ayıran utanç ve kin dikenli telleri birden çok küçük ve önemsiz, şekilsiz bir paslanmış şövenim yığımı oldu.

Genişlemiş umut ufkunda, Pergama ormanı, umut ağaçlarıyla artık bilinçlerinde farklı bir boyut kazanıyordu. Geleceğin bağlantı halkasına dönuştü. Beklentilerinde referans noktaları...

Ve sonra, aynı ellerin, "Ara Bölge" nin boş alanını, birkaç böyle beklenti ormanıyla ve binlerce böyle umut ağacıyla doldurmak için birlikte çalışacağı söyleye sen olamayacak bir son vedalaşmayla eller yeniden birleşti.

Çorak ölü toprağı, hayat ve barış vahasına dönüştürmek için...

Çocuklarının yuvalarını inşa edecekleri ve onları bekleyen ortak gelecekte, geniş yapraklarında, hayatın barışçıl yorgunluğunu atacakları, koyu gölgeli ağaçları olmaları için.

Hepimizin çocuklarının, bizi doğuran aynı ortak vatanda bulacak birseyi olması için, herbirimiz kendi barış ağacını eksin.

ΤΑ ΔΕΝΔΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ

Ήταν λιγοστά... σκόραφα 'δω και κει, απομεινάρια κάποιων άλλων εποχών, ξεχασμένα στην άκρη του πουθενά.

Κατοδικαίμενα σε μια μοναχική ααηησία όλα αυτά τα πέτρινα χρόνια, υπόμειαν κατετριμμά τη μανία των κάθε λογής ανέμων. Ντόπιων και ξένων.

Ριζωμένα στη χέρσα κ' άνδρηγη, με φύλλα μσοκατριναμένα από την πολυκαιρία και κλωνιά στασμένα, πεισματικά στέκοιαν όρθια... γεμάτα προσοχή.

Σ' αντίθεση με την επίτασθη επιφαινεισάη «κατάντια» τους, κάτω από τη χέρσα γη και μακριά από αδιάρκτα βλέμματα, εαηριάν δινάμη απρόσμενη κ' ατελείτητη.

Οι «ρίζες» ήταν βαθιά και στέρεα χωμένες στα σπλάχνα της διαής τους γης. Η διαχρονική κ' αστειεμένη τούτη δινάμη, τα κρατούσε ακόμη όρθια. Έστω κ' αν κάποιος ξυλόωνταν την ελπίδα τους. Έστω κ' αν κάποιος εμποδεοταν την υπάαξη τους.

Έστω κ' αν τα φύλλα τους κίτρινον από την αλμύρα των κοινών ααηρών. Οι «ρίζες» ήταν ακόμη γερές. Κρατούσαν καλά. Και περιέμεναν. Στο τέλος δικαιώθηκαν. Άαηξε τον κόπο η αναμνήη τώσων χρόνων.

Η σκληρή χέρσα γη πλημμύρισε ξαφικά από ζωή. Μέσα από την ίδια την ζωή...πρόβαλε η ελπίδα. Η αλμύρα στο ααηρυ, έγινε γλυκά προσομήη. «Καλοορώσες φίλε»... «Χος κελτίν πε καρτάσιπ»... «Χάου αη γιούι μαϊ φρέντ»... «Τον θημάσι τούτον 'δακ Είναη ο γείτονας μας, ο Χουσεϊν...Μαζή μεγαλώσαμε»...

Το ξεδοινασμένο δάσος με τα άνδρηα καχεκτικά δένδρα, που βολοόεγανε τόσα χρόνια στους πάσα λογής ανέμους, πήρε σήμερα τα ' πάνω του. Έσφιζε από φωνές, τραγούδια, μουσική και ελπίδα, και προσομήη περισσή.

Αγκάλιές άνοιγαν διάσπλτα και από τις δυο «πλευρές», έομζε κάτω από τα δένδρα ένα δακρυ, και άλλοι τη χαρά τους.

Άαηφανα ο χρόνος σπαήνησε. Κυλούσε τόσο αργά...όπως τότε. Χτες. Στην ίδια γειτονία. Με μιά έννοιη του μεροκάματο. Μα το ξεροκάματο τότες, ήταν τόσο γλυκό, που η γεύση του είναι ακόμη μετώρη στις θήμιες αυτών που το γεύτηκαν.

Τ' ανθρόπινο ποτάμι και από τις δυο «πλευρές», έομζε κάτω από τα δένδρα τις προσομήη, και πότισε με δροσοσταλίες ελπίδας τις ρίζες τους. Όσοι τυχαία σπίκωναν το βλέμμα προς τα πάνω, είδαν έκπληκτοι πολλά περιστέρια της ειρήνης που είχαν ξεπεράσει το ορόβο και τις καχυποψίες τους, να κάθονται αμέμμενα στα κλαδιά των δένδρων.

Ήταν τότες, που στις καρδιές αυτών των ανθρώπων, το σμαηατόπλεγμα της ντροπής και του μίσους που χώριζε στα δυο τα όνειρά τους, έγινε άαηφανα τόσο μικρό κ' ασήμαντο, μια άμορφη μάζα σκουριασμένου σοβινασμού...

Στο δεικνύμενο ορίζοντα της ελπίδας, το δάσος του Περιγιάμου με τα δένδρα της ειρήνης, έπαμειν πια στη συνείδηση τους, μια άλλη διάσπαση. Μετάηνε ο συνθητικός κρόκος για το μέλλον. Σημείο αναφοράς στις προσδοκίες τους.

Κι ύστερα τα χέρια έομξαν ξανά, σ'ένα ύστατο μα όχι στεγνό χαιρετισμό, με την υπόσχεση ότι αυτά τα ίδια χέρια θα δουλέψουν μαζί να γεμίσουν τον άδαιο χώρο της «νεογής γης», με πολλά τέτοια δάση προσομήη και χιλιάδες τέτοια δένδρα ελπίδας.

Για να μεταλλάαουν τη χέρσα νεκρωμένη γη, σε άαση ζωής και ειρήνης.

Για να 'χουν τα παιδιά τους, βαθύκατα δένδρα να χτίσουν τις φωλιές τους, και να εαησοσταίνων στις πλατιές φυλλοώσεις τους από τον ειρηνηκό κάματο της ζωής, στο κοινό μέλλον που τους καρτερεί.

Ο καλ' ένας ας φηπέη το δικό του δένδρο της ειρήνης, για να 'χουν κατ'ι να βρουν ολωνών τα παιδιά, στην ίδια κοινή γη που μας γέννησε.

Barış için vatandaş gurubu'nun iki toplumlu korosu

İki toplumlu koro, Mayıs 1997'de, Kıbrıs'ta Barış için iki toplumlu Vatandaş Gurubu'nun girişimiyle kuruldu.

Provalarına "Ledra Palas" Otelde başlandı, ve sistemli çalışmadan sonra Ekim 1997'de BM'nin "Ledra Palas" da organize ettiği iki toplumlu panayırda ilk kez kendini gösterdi.

Provalar, Kıbrıs Türk makamlarının, Kıbrıslı Türklere iki toplumlu etkinliklere katılmasını yasaklaması yüzünden Aralık 1997'ye kadar sürdü. Korocular, bu zorluğa rağmen, biraraya gelme yükümlülüklerini korudular ve provalarını tek toplumlu bir şekilde Aralık 1998'e kadar sürdürdüler.

1999 başlarında iki toplumun korocuları düzenli aralıklarla Pile'de buluşmaya ve birlikte çalışmaya başladılar. İki maestro (bir Kıbrıslı Elen ve Kıbrıslı Türk) aralarında uzlaşşı içinde aynı şarkılar üzerinde çalışarak ve tüm koroculara aynı yönlendirici müzikal çizgiyi vererek galayı koordine ediyorlar.

Koronun repertuanı hem Elen, hem Türk dilinde geleneksel türkülerden, diğerleri yanında sözleri Türk ve Kıbrıslı Türk şairlerince yazılmış olup, Elen bestecilere bestelenmiş daha yeni türkülerden ve koronun dışarıya vermek istediği mesajlara uygun olan yabancı türkülerden oluşuyor.

Koronu topyekûn yer alacağı etkinliklerin organizasyonu pratikte zordur. Kıbrıslı Elen üyeleri, bugüne kadar, her zaman Kıbrıslı Türk üyeler ile uzlaşşı içinde, birçok sanatsal etkinliğe katılma ve olmasalar da varlıkları hissedilecek şekilde onları da temsil etme fırsatı buldu. Buna rağmen iki olayda koronun topyekûn bulunma fırsatı oldu. Birincisi Eylül 1999'da Pergama'da gerçekleşen iki toplumlu bir piknikti. İkincisi ise aynı yılın Ekim ayında BM'nin "Ledra Palas"ta organize ettiği "Uluslar Arası Açık Etkinlik" ti.

İkitoplumlu Koro'nun hedefleri, müzik aracılığıyla iki toplumdaki insanlar yakınlaştırmak, birbirlerinin kültürlerini tanımasını, onları bileştiren ortak unsurları bulmalarını, ortak deneyimleri yaşamalarını ve dışarıya uzlaşşı ve güven mesajları vermelerini sağlamaktır.

Tüm üyelerinin ümidi, iki toplumun daha çok insanın yakınlaşabilmesi ve korocuların hissettiği güçlü dostluk ve güven duygularını paylaşılabilmeleri için koronun ortak sanatsal faaliyetler organize edebileceği koşulların yaratılmasıdır.

H Dikoinotikí Chorwđía tís omádas polítwn gia tin enirínn

H Dikoinotikí chorwđía idrúthke to Máio tou 1997 me protoboulia tís Dikoinotikís Omádas Politón gia tin Eirínnh sthn Kýpro.

Ekínhsen tis dokímés tís sto xenodoxeío «Líðra Pálas» kai metá apó sushtimatiakí ergasia, ékane tin prwtí tís emfánishn ton Oktwbrío tou 1997 sto Dikoinotikó Panhghúri pou orgánwsan ta Hnwména Ethnh sto «Líðra Pálas».

Oi dokímés συνεχίστηκαν μέχρι to Δεκέμβριο του 1997, opότε διεκόπησαν, λόγω tís απαγόρευσης των Τ/Κυπριακών Αρχών στους Τ/Κύπριους να προσέρχονται σε dikoinotikés epafés. Oi chorwđoi, pará ti dushkolia autí, diatírhσαν to psyhikó tous thénos kai sunéχισαν tis dokímés tous monokoinotiká μέχρι to Δεκέμβριο του 1998.

Arghés tou 1999, oi chorwđoi twn duo koinotíτων árχισαν na sunantíountai sthn Píula se takta diastímata kai na ergázontai mazí. Oi duo máestroi (énas Τ/Κύπριος kai énas Ε/Κύπριος) se sunenónhsh metazú tous, suntonízουν ékτοte tin prwsotátheia douléúontas páνω sta íδια τραγούδια kai dínontas tin íδια kateuthnhtíria mousikí grammi st' óλους τους chorwđous.

To repertório tís chorwđías apoteleítai apó paraðosaiaká τραγούδια, τόσο sthn Ellhnikí óso kai sthn Τουρκική γλώσσα, νεότερα τραγούδια των οποίων metazú állwn, oi stíxoi gráφηκαν apó Tούρκους kai Τ/Κύπριους ποιητές kai melosoiíthηκαν apó Ellhnes sunthétes, kathws épishs kai xenóglwssa τραγούδια των οποίων to mhníma sunádei me ta mhnímata pou théli na steilai pros ta éxw ti chorwđia.

H diorgánwsh ekdhlwsewn, ópu moureí na lábei méros sússwmi ti chorwđia einai praktiká dushkolí. Oi Ε/Κύπριοι - μέλη, éχαν tin eukaipía na parousiasotún μέχρι shmera se pollés kalliteχνικές ekdhlwseis se sunenónhsh pánta me tous Τ/Κύπριους - μέλη kai antiprosωπεύοντας τους étai óste na gínetai aisqhthí ti parousia tous éστοw kai apóntwn. Entoútouis, se duo peripptwseis éixe tin eukaipía na parousiaséti sússwmi ti chorwđia. H prwtí htan to Σεπτέμβριο του 1999 se mia dikoinotikí ekdhrómhi pou éγινε sto Πέργαμος kai ti δεύτερη éγινε ton Oktwbrío ton ίδιου χρόνου sti «Διεθνή Άνοικτή Εκδhlwsh» pou diorgánwsan ta Hnwména Ethnh sto «Líðra Pálas».

Oi stóχοi tís Dikoinotikís Chorwđías einai, diaméssou tís mousikíes na férien konatá átoma kai apó tis duo koinotíhtes, na gnwrísoun tin koultoúra o énas tou álloú kai na broun ta koiná stoiχεία pou tous enwónoun, na bíwsoun koinés empeiries kai na stéiloun pros ta éxw mhnímata symfilwshs kai emπιστοσύnnhs.

Ellpída όλwn twn melwn einai na dhmiourghthoún oi sunthékes óste na moureí ti chorwđia na orgánwnei koinés kalliteχνικές ekdhlwseis óste na éρθoun akómi perissoútora átoma twn duo koinotíτων konatá kai na μοιρασotún ta dynatá aisqhmatá philías kai emπιστοσύnnhs pou oi chorwđoi noiwóthoun.

The politics of separation and the denial of interdependence

By Niazi Kizilgiourek

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to address the issue of separation in Cyprus and the wider concept of separatism on the island. The latter covers all political actions which disable integration, destroy unity and consequently lead to segregation.

Looking at politics in Cyprus a simple fact becomes obvious: the desire for national self realisation of the two communities has resulted in separation.

Since autonomy is the goal of all nationalists, we will have to examine nationalism in Cyprus. Before we do so, however, a few words about autonomy have to be said at the outset.

«With the concept of autonomy we have entered the Kantian world of self determination. With Kant, autonomy becomes an ethical imperative for the individual, a principle of his being. Applied by Fichter and other German romantics to groups rather than individuals, the ideal of autonomy gave rise to the philosophy of national set determination and collective struggle to realise the authentic national will».

Nationalism signifies the awakening of the nation and its members to its «true collective self», so that it, and that it, and they, obey only the «inner voice» of the purified community. «Authentic experience and authentic community are, therefore, preconditions of full autonomy, just as only autonomy can allow the nation and its members to realise themselves in an authentic manner» (Smith, 1991).

The construction of the unique collective identity is possible only through a shared unique culture. By discovering that culture we discover ourselves, the authentic self. This process of self-definition and location is in many ways the key to national identity. Therefore, autonomy, unity and collective identity are the basic characteristics of nationalism.

It is important at this point to distinguish between cultural nation (Kulturnation) and political nation (Staatsnation) as done by German historian Friedrich Meineke.

According to him, the political nation centres around the idea of the individual and collective self - determination and derives from the individual's free will and subjective commitment to the nation. In this case as in the formulation of Ernest Renan, «the nation is a daily plebiscite», and depends on the will of the individual. Therefore, the population of a given historically evolved territory perceives itself as a nation and citizenship is equated with nationality (Alter, 1989).

This suggests that, whatever else it may be, what we mean by national identity involves some sense of political community. A political community, in turn, implies at least, some common institutions and single code of rights and duties for all the members of the community. It also suggests a definite social space, a fairly well demarcated and bounded territory, with which the members identify and to which they feel they belong (Antony Smith, 1991).

By contrast, the spirit of community that exists in a cultural nation is founded upon seemingly objective criteria such as common heritage and language, a distinct area of settlement (so called historical land), religion, custom and history, and does not need to be mediated by a national state or other political form. Consciousness of unity and the sense of belonging together develop independently of the state (Alter, 1989).

The first obvious feature is the stress on descent - or rather presumed descent- rather than territory. The nation is seen as a fictive «super family». In this conception, the nation can trace its roots to an imputed common ancestry and, therefore, its members are brothers and sisters, differentiated by family ties from outsiders. In fact nationalism contains both conceptions in varying degrees and different forms. Sometimes civic



and territorial elements predominate; at other times it is the ethnic and vernacular components that are emphasised (Smith, 1991).

Greek-Cypriot nationalism developed as ethnonationalism, creating a strong sense of belonging to the «family of the Greek nation», was the main determinant of the Greek - Cypriot identity and hence of the collective self.

The achievement of autonomy was not based on a political community securing the civil rights of its citizens but on the cultural expression of the authentic self i.e. of the *volksgeist*. Cyprus was not perceived as a self-contained territory, in which an independent *politia* could be created, but as a piece of territory, which assumes sense only if it is a part of the «super family» of the Greek nation. Thus «the authentic self» can only realise itself and become autonomous through the unification of the island with Greece. In this context political demands and aims are the expression of the national identity and of the authentic self. There is no differentiation between identity and *politia* at all.

As Kitromilides observes, «the growth of a movement of national consciousness raising and national assertion that culminated in a political vision of national emancipation through union with Greece turned the archaic, distant Greek speaking community of Cyprus into a dynamic, political society, which excluded as heresy and treason the visualisation of any other forum of collective existence short of union with Greece» (Kitromilides 1990).

The equalisation of nation and identity with *politia* led the Greek - Cypriots «to see and handle the Cyprus Question exclusively as a problem of self-determination of the Cypriot people in the Hellenic ethnic sense. They were not prepared and willing to tackle the problem from the aspect of a political nation that would comprise the Greeks as well as the Turkish - Cypriots» (Tzermias, 1994).

Indeed the expansion of Greek nationalism in Cyprus resulted in an oversight, even oblivion of the Turkish - Cypriot community. This Hellenic, culturalistic discourse and spiritual inwardness resulted in the denial of difference in relation to the Turkish-Cypriots and also of otherness within the Greek-Cypriot community. Another important result of this process, was the fetishism of history and culture where history and culture have been presented as admonishing, crying or demanding.

The idea of an organic relationship between language, culture and history on the one hand and the *politia* on the other, prevented the Greek-Cypriot community from approaching the Turkish-Cypriot

community and from adapting to the reality of domestic and international conditions.

Any criticism of the politics of unification with Greece - which was thought to be the only way to realise the authentic collective self - was perceived as a denial of identity, thus as abnormal and corrupt. According to this concept of national identity, where Greek - orthodoxy, ethnicity and the state are considered as an organic whole, nation and people (*Staatsvolk*) had to be one.

In the context we can undermine the critical remark made by Makarios concerning the creation of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960: «The Agreements created a state but not a nation».

This led to an undermining of the Cypriot state and hindered the emergence of a political community, composed of all Cypriots in the sense of the citizens of the island.

Alongside the lack of recognition of difference by Greek nationalism in Cyprus, it is important here to mention the fact that the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus, although taking into consideration the ethnic identity in many respects, did not enable the state to go beyond the collective identities and to create a unity through difference.

During the years after the formation of the Cypriot state we come across certain social groups desiring to move from the ethno-nation to a territorial state, claiming that «Cyprus belongs to its people». For the first time in the 1960s we see the differentiation between *demos* and nation. However, the ruling idea «Cyprus belongs to Hellenism» remained until 1974 and loyalty remained centred around culture, which was understood as the organic whole covering religion, ethnicity and politics, rather than around the concept of civil society and citizenship.

From the Politics of Difference to the Politics of Separation

Nationalism arrived in the Turkish - Cypriot community almost one century after it had arrived in the Greek - Cypriot community. The Turkish - Cypriot have been affected by Turkish nationalist ideas during the emergence of modern Turkey. Newspaper articles indicate that «Turkishness» begins to be pronounced in 1919, at the beginning of the Turkish war of liberation. The establishment of the Turkish state led to increased nationalist ideas amongst the Turkish - Cypriot intelligentsia.

However, the gradual transformation of a pro-British Muslim community into a Turkish ethnic community on the island that saw itself as part of the Greater Turkish nation is not to be understood



independently of the growth of Greek - Cypriot national consciousness. There is a close relationship, perhaps a dialectical one, between ethnic antagonism and the development of the Turkish - Cypriot national identity.

The call on ethnicity, although influenced by Turkish nationalism and encouraged by British colonialism, developed in reaction to the «Other», the Greek - Cypriot community, which was perceived as a threat to the Turkish - Cypriots.

It is not a coincidence that the spread of nationalist feeling amongst the Turkish Cypriots gained momentum in the 1950s, when the Greek - Cypriot demand for unification achieved its highest momentum. This constant conflict has itself crystallised a Turkish - Cypriot sense of ethnic identity in what was before only a linguistic - religious category. It was during this period that the demand for partition as a counter 0 ideology to enosis came to be pronounced by the Turkish - Cypriot leadership.

The articulation of the difference blind nationalism by Greek Cypriots which in fact resulted in the politicisation of intercommunal difference, combined with the cold war interests of the Western Alliance made the Turkish - Cypriot community of Cyprus a «Distinct and Equal Community» within the Republic of Cyprus.

But to maintain and cherish distinctiveness was not limited only to the legitimate interest to maintain the cultural integrity of the Turkish Cypriots. It aimed in fact at the legitimisation of the politics of partition, in reaction to the «Other», the Greek Cypriots. Thus, Cyprus became a place similar to the Sartrean world of «No Exit» where the other is perceived as hell.

In the words of Kitromilides, «Out of the configuration of two opposed conservative and authoritarian nationalisms, sympolically antagonistic and mutually exclusive, developed the dialectics of intolerance that provided the ideological content of ethnic conflict. Precisely on the eve of her independence Cyprus experienced this dialectic of intolerance that stretched from ideological to most other levels of public life» (Kitromilides, 1990).

Given that a political community is defined as a group of people living under a common regime, whose representatives make important decisions for the group as a whole, one can argue that the ruling elites of the newly born state of Cyprus aimed instead for separate conflicting national policies. The insistence on separate national interests left no room for emergence of a united Cypriot society.

The existence of a centralised agency to which all are understood as equally subject sustained an awareness that there was at least one level at which they all shared an attribute, and this shared attribute could have

become the basis for insisting on extending the range of shared attributes. However, this was inconceivable in the «Cypriot Society» in which social roles and rights derived and were trapped within the respective ethnic communities. For this reason the emergence of the state and the doctrine of sovereignty did not have a profound and lasting effect on the process of political socialisation in Cyprus as it did in the West.

In fact the state of Cyprus has been perceived by the ruling elites of the two communities as a threat to the Greek and Turkish national identities as they were understood in Cyprus. Throughout the years of independence the Turkish - Cypriot leaders saw a great danger in the «Cypriotisation» of the Turks, as they have admitted. On the other hand the Greek - Cypriot leadership was after the complete «hellenisation» of the Cypriot state and Cyprus as such.

This instability of the post-colonial state fuelled the ethnic conflict and tended to promote a heightened sense of ethnic identity, which in turn strengthened the aspirations of the Turkish Cypriots for a separate ethnonational identity. Alongside the group anxiety caused by the discourse and actions of the Greek - Cypriot nationalism, especially in the 1960s, the uneven development between the two communities of Cyprus encouraged further ethnic separatism among the Turkish Cypriots.

So, Turkish - Cypriots ethnic nationalism became the vehicle for a new national identity which drew many members of the community, involved in the conflict, into a new type of politicised vernacular culture and created a different kind of participant society. In this context the separatist movement itself was the prototype and harbinger of a new society. Its cells, schools, army units, welfare associations, self - help groups, labour unions, as well as its songs, flags, poetry, sports, arts and crafts, all presaged and created the nucleus of the future ethnic community and its political identity.

Fear of Interdependence

The failure of state building in Cyprus, because of Greek and the Turkish ethnonationalisms, is to be understood as the fear of interdependence. In fact interdependence was the very characteristic of the Cypriot state, which was based on the concept of bi-communalism. Neither of the two communities could arrange the affairs of the state without considering the general will of the other community.

But this instead of recognition of the other and co-operation with them brought about denial and antagonism. The very process of acquiring, the



autonomous collective self prevented both communities from coming to terms with each other.

The ethno-nationalist way of achieving the collective self through separateness and the development of mutually exclusive identities, left no space for communitarily and led to the lack of recognition.

For the Greek - Cypriot elite, any consideration of the Turkish Cypriots, was seen as a hindrance to the full expression of the Greek cultural identity and the political will. The Turkish - Cypriot elite saw in the concept of interdependence the mere protection of the Turkish - Cypriot collective self and encouraged the distinctiveness of the community in a way which turned against unity.

In the micro-cosmos of Cyprus we can observe how interdependence without empathy can become a painful experience leading to the total renunciation of the other.

It is important at this point to consider the roles of Greece and Turkey in relation to Cyprus and the Cypriot state. Despite the fact that the two countries agreed to exclude the unification of Cyprus with Greece and the partition of the island, they never ceased as national centres to strengthen the Greek and Turkish national consciousness in Cyprus. Alongside their control of the Cypriot state and their military presence, both countries were actively involved in the educational and communication systems in order to increase their respective influences on the island. For example, as a former member of the Greek embassy in Nicosia, recently admitted, Greece, concerned by the weakening of «hellenistic emotions» in the 1960s in Cyprus, financially supported those Greek Cypriot newspapers, which were engaged in developing strong ties between Cyprus and mother Greece. It is for sure that the same applies to Turkey in relation to Turkish Cypriots and despite the original agreements concerning enosis and taksim, the Cypriot elites were encouraged to see the source of hope for enosis and taksim in Greece and Turkey respectively.

Furthermore, the tendency of the Western Alliance to resolve the Cyprus encouraging Turkey and Greece to

political maximalist position on Cyprus, since whatever happened, the interests of the Alliance were protected. So, the cooperation of the two countries concerning Cyprus, which began in 1959, was always overshadowed by their competition.

After the events of 1974, which divided Cyprus into two parts, there began a negotiation process for the unification of the island on a bi-zonal federal basis. The presence of the Turkish army in Cyprus changed the balance of power completely. Since federation had been a Turkish proposal for the settlement of the Cyprus question, one expected after the high level. Agreement in 1977 between Denktas and Makarios a smooth movement towards the implementation of the federal concept.

However, such expectations are yet to be fulfilled. After the freezing of the conflict for twenty five years, the Turkish Cypriot leadership have come to seek a new definition of the Turkish Cypriot community on the basis of nation-building. According to this definition the Turkish Cypriots are entitled to the right of self-determination and to national sovereignty.

It is like history repeating itself, with changed positions. In the 1960s it was the Greek Cypriots who sought the right to ignore the Turkish-Cypriots. Today it is the Turkish Cypriots who are claiming the same right.

Today, after the bitter experience of nationalisms, Cyprus is threatened by lack of communication and compromise, emotionalism and readiness for the use of violence in a strategic and calculated way. Enough has happened for Minerva to take its dusk flight. If only we prove able to learn and to face interdependency this time, with empathy.

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CYPRUS PROBLEM: 'GENERIC ETHNIC CONFLICT' Or MODERN POLITICAL PHENOMENON?

By Nicos Trimikliniotis

Some analyses present the Cyprus problem primarily as a generic ethnic antagonism. This assumption is shared by many 'conflict resolutionists', a project which is certainly well intentioned, but ridden with questionable assumptions. What follows is an attempt at a short critique, so that we can at last start a debate between us as peace activists.

Lets take a couple of examples to illustrate the point. The article by Pelayias (1995) is indicative. Whilst recognising that the Cyprus problem is multi-dimensional, complex and 'dynamic in nature', he argues that "we are faced with a problem of psychology, as well as a problem of definition of history. Pelayias reaches the rather bleak conclusion that ethnic conflicts are intractable and difficult to eliminate altogether; all we can do is to 'manage them'. This is because their 'causes are rooted in the very fabric of our societies and in the very nature of our international system'.

This pessimism may be well founded in the context of the prolonged failure to resolve the Cyprus problem and the rise of ethnic conflict and nationalism in the globe. However, the basis upon which he makes this contention is dubious: he ultimately puts it down to human nature. This perspective fails to take into account the wider social, political and other reasons for conflict in society.

One sentence, merely referring to the timing of the conflict is particularly telling of his approach: "The Cyprus dispute is its 30th year. Yet the conflict between Greeks and Turks dates at least since 1571". It may appear 'common sense' to say Greeks and Turks fought for centuries, since the Byzantine times. Even before the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Greek and Turkish textbooks refer to the conflict between Greeks and Turks. Pelayias's reference to 1571 is the time the Ottomans conquered Cyprus, which was then under the Venetians. However, the assumptions behind this 'innocent' citing of a date is not only naïve and ahistorical in the strict meaning of historical enquiry. Oddly enough, it is also ridden with the nationalist perception of history and the ethnicist assumptions. 'Ethnicist assumptions' are those views that present the 'ethnic' as having some sort of primacy or essential nature, whereas the alternative view is the modernist view, that perceives the 'nation' not some inevitable process of 'ethnic' groups, but the product or construct of modern political phenomena

(industrialisation, division of capitalist market, colonialism, the state system, political process etc).

The myth of 'unbroken continuity' of Greece from the ancient years underlies this perception. However, the social formations in Cyprus, and throughout the Ottoman Empire was completely different from the order that emerged after the Balkan revolutions and 'the national question' was a complex process that involved appropriation of the past. (See Tsoukalas 1994). The process involved bitter wars, shifts of populations and 'educating', homogenising and 'nationalising' populations with the Balkan wars. One of the difficulties with dissent from the orthodox views is dealing with some underlying assumptions embedded in nationalist discourse. This is the notion there have been 3000 years of continuity in history of the Greek nation, something we all learned at school! Hence a fairly self-evident statement by the British historian Hobsbawm this idea is "a myth" and false captures the headlines on an Athens daily (*Eleftherotypia* 27.3.95) as it certainly would in Cyprus. This intrigues objective observers who point to the absurdity of the idea of stretching back all this years and appropriating the past to legitimate the present. Eric Hobsbawm in the interview with the Greek journalist, Takis Micha, when asked about the use of "ancient Greek symbols" such as Alexander, and Philip of Macedonia and the 'sun of Vergina' by the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, pointed out these symbols do not 'belong' to the Greek national State- a modern formation of the 19th century. He found the idea absurd. With a characteristic candour he said:

"the argument that the wider Macedonia of today exclusively belongs to the modern Greek state because Philip conquered Greece is as convincing with the argument that modern France has rights over Italy because Julius Caesar conquered the Gauls!" (*Eleftherotypia* 27.3.95).



The myth of common origin and destiny are the main themes nationalist in Cyprus built their following, with images of the ancient Hellenic Spirit (ancient Athenian democracy, the ancient Greek philosophers, ancient Athens, Sparta; Olympic games; Alexander the Great and so on). This myth 'married' together with the Byzantine Orthodox Christian Empire (the Cypriot Church had a privileged 'autocephalous' status, with its own Archbishop, something the Byzantine emperor recognised). The much used Hellenic-Christian Ideals («Ελληνο-Χριστιανικά ιδεώδη») were the official ideology of the Greek Cypriots in power.

This has of course its Turkish equivalent use (or abuse of history). The myths of origin and destiny of 'the great Turkish nation', the fact that Greek Cypriot nationalism totally ignored the Turkish Cypriots altogether, was eventually constructed in opposition to Greek Cypriot nationalism (Enosis). It is constructed around the glorious past of the Ottoman Empire and geographical mythology, which wants Cyprus to be an extended part of Turkey.

Another approach is to 'psychologise' ethnic conflict and the Cyprus problem, as well use (and abuse) history in a way that suits his perspective. Volkan's work (1989; 1990; 1998) is indicative. His starting point and overall conclusions are ridden with nationalist assumptions. He complains that

"the psychological foundations of the Cyprus problem... has not received international attention above and beyond the teaching and application of so-called conflict resolution to both the Cypriot Turks and Cypriot Greeks" (1998:278).

His analysis of the Cyprus problem is typical of nationalist historiography:

"Cyprus's status is only the most recent expression of a 1000 year historical process between Turks and Greeks that began in 1071 when the Seljuk Turks defeated the Byzantine army at Manzikert" (1998:279).

He describes the Ottoman period 1453 AD-1821, the date of the Greek revolution, as the time of "togetherness"; with the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire there is he alleges a "separateness". He sees the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots as a kind of microcosm of the Turkish-Greek relations and interprets events in Cyprus in this light. Only then does he employ psychological categories and analytical frameworks, but even then this is done to justify his viewpoint. His conclusion is that the division in Cyprus is likely to be permanent, but there is room for some 'co-operation to be gradually developed' (1998:279). Overall his work appears more like apologies for the permanent partition of Cyprus and is in line with the dominant brand of Turkish-Cypriot nationalism.

The 'Nature of Conflict'

One of the most common assumptions of 'conflict resolution' on the nature of 'ethnic conflict' is that, at least partly but principally, it is a problem of 'historic hatred' and 'ethnic antagonism'. Fisher's view is such:

"The Cyprus conflict is in part the product of centuries of antagonism between Greeks and Turks. It is also the unfortunate outcome of a more recent political history that did not deal well with the reality of two different peoples living in close geographical proximity on the small island. It has been complicated by a myriad of local, regional and international agendas and antagonisms".

This is indicative of the view of what is considered as the 'core' of the 'problem', the 'essential aspect' of the conflict in Cyprus; the 'deep-rooted historical antagonism' between Greeks and Turks. This is basically the application of the ethnicist or essentialist approach to nationalism, which sees an 'ethnic core' in modern nations and nationalisms. However, both at theoretical and at concrete level, this thesis is highly questionable, consistently underplaying the role of modern political factors and failing to see the role of both class and Western colonialism/imperialism.

One can see how Western-trained specialists read 'third world ethnic conflicts', such the Cyprus conflict, whether by default or by intention, in an essentialist manner, without questioning the assumptions about the conflict. Edward Said's concept 'orientalism' as a systematic way the East, the orient, is distorted by Westerners applies here.

The point remains: modern political factors shape conflicts using 'ancient myths' and 'hatreds' in the way that suit their particular nationalistic projects, it's no good for peace activists to fall precisely in the trap of ethnic essentialism.

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TURKISH AND GREEK CYPRIOTS IN 20th CENTURY

When we look at two communities with ethnic differences in a small island, the Cyprus Problem seems to be, in essence, rather simple. However, the events in Cyprus during the 20th century have created a completely different picture. The interference of foreign powers has resulted in the division of the island.

During the 20th century, the Greek and Turkish people have used most of their time in developing their national aspirations separately. These national aspirations have been the main factor in increasing violence, enmity, fear and self-defensive feelings between the two communities.

While the two communities living on this small island spent most of their time in continuous fights and struggles, other countries took important steps in improving their democracies. These countries progressed in cultural and technological fields and attached importance to human rights and freedom of thought.

On the other hand, during this period the Cyprus people, that is to say Greeks and Turks have not made the required progress. Two reasons lay behind this; one was the national educational system applied in both communities. The other was lack of interest in social and cultural events. The two communities in Cyprus have not adapted themselves to the changes of the century, have not promoted joint cultural activities, and have not shared the constructive understanding and common values of social and sporting fields or in the arena of organisation. Neither community was content to live together in accordance with international law and under the single Cypriot identity.

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The Cypriots, while not agreeing on a single Cypriot identity, have learned to develop and keep to the fore their national aspirations. During this century the Greeks, who are in the majority among the Cypriots, have started a Cretan-type struggle in order to achieve Enosis (union with Greece). The Turkish Cypriots, who are in the minority, reacted to this and staged a struggle for survival. The Greeks through their underground organisation, first Volkan and then later the Turkish Resistance organisation (TMT).

These underground organisations spread terror among the Turkish and Greek communities. Terrorism always create fear and a sense of self-defensiveness in any world community and the same was true in Cyprus.

The two communities in Cyprus faced up the second half of the century in the light of growing tension, which quickly erupted into demonstrations and violence, first by the Greeks against the British and then between themselves. This continued until the Turkish intervention in 1974 and the subsequent division of the island; since when there have been no serious outbreaks of intercommunal violence on either side.

I think Cyprus people, that is to say, Turks and Greeks have to ignore what all happened in 20th century and they should start the 21st century anew.



Towards an Effective and Dynamic Peace Movement in Cyprus

By Nicos Trimikliniotis

It has become a cliché to say that the cause of peace is everyone's business. It is equally said that not enough is being done to promote peace, understanding between the two communities in Cyprus and a solution to the Cyprus problem. But the cause of peace continues and walls that divide our island and our people can be demolished. The vast majority of Cypriots want this and some, both in Cyprus and here in London, are working very hard to this end.

As for the latest developments on the Cyprus problem with the new talks we have mountains to climb before we can reach anywhere near a solution. The prospects are hardly bright, as the Turkish proposals for 'confederation' (in other words a de facto partition with loose relations between two separate states). Time will tell but we can hardly afford to be complacent.

For our part, as peace activists, we are more concerned with what is happening on the ground; after all it's the area we can do something. What is the public mood at this moment? At the end of the day it will be ordinary people who will make peace work and have the ultimate power, if used effectively and with imagination, effect change in society. But this warrants an explanation since if it were up to ordinary Cypriots I am sure the vast majority would want a solution now. Currently the structures are such that entrench the divide, enhance insecurity, suspicion and mistrust and harness nationalism and chauvinism. However, the same structures that benefit warmongers, bigots and those with an interest in the division, force the need for a rethinking of the mad process that leads us mathematically to destruction. When people are presented with the choice of Peace or War, the logic of peace becomes inexorable. This same de facto partition and military build up only makes the contradictions more acute. It strengthens our resolve to meet the challenge with a new dynamism and vigour.

Many times reference is made to "one side" and "the other side", usually referring to the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots as being on the opposite sides. For us, and here I am talking also a member of The Forum, there are also two sides, but the divide is not along community, ethnic or national lines: on one side are those who want peace, those forces that want the people and island of Cyprus to be reunited. This is what the UN resolutions and High Level agreements provide for. The other side are those who want the divide, either because they are benefiting from partition or because they are ideologically enmeshed in the politics of ethnic separation, supremacism or separatism. Hence their love for militarism, their thriving in warmongering and boasting about their armoury, missiles and tanks. These are our enemies, irrespective of what community or nationality they come from.

What we are putting forward is a politics of friendship and co-operation for Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots as an alternative; a way of thinking, acting and creating beyond the walls of ethnicism, nationalism and 'ethno-centricism'. On a basic level we call for peace and communication, deeply rooted in our long tradition of co-operation in Cyprus and based on learning from our mistakes of the past in Cyprus.

This is a vision is for a united, independent, sovereign and fully demilitarised Cyprus. This can only be re-



alised today in a federal structure. Any attempts to partition, camouflaged as 'confederation' must be opposed, as well as insisting on the withdrawal of all foreign troops. Surely, this is what they all say, but do they actually mean it? If they do, they must show it. Moreover, some say that they want peace and a settlement in 'some distant future'. In the meantime they are amassing weapons and carry with them large segments of the population, exploiting the sense of fear and security prevalent.

This is why we need an effective and dynamic peace movement in Cyprus. A movement that defies barriers. The challenge for us is: how do we build such a movement? What can we do from outside? We address these questions by challenging our obstacles.

A major problem for the peace and democratic movement in Cyprus is that it did not manage to anticipate events effectively or that when it did –and it do so with remarkable accuracy at times- did not manage to prevent these from happening. The movement proved either timid or reactive to events, rather than proactive. The agenda was set by the nationalists, the militarists and forces outside Cyprus, who wanted to divide us.

What steps are being taken today to reverse the status quo of entrenched division? Groups in Cyprus are doing some great work around bringing the two communities together. Rapprochement and conflict resolution has resulted in numerous bi-communal projects, some are planned, others are in the pipeline and others completed. But the projects need to become broader and more open. Moreover, one must approach the concept of conflict resolution critically, by questioning all the underlying assumptions and methods employed.

A second major problem is the absence of proper co-ordination of action and the necessary co-operation between groups. We urgently need to work out a common agenda, discuss strategy and this can only be done with

more dialogue between groups. Above all we need more common initiatives against the plague of nationalism, racism and chauvinism. The work of the umbrella organisation is vital, so is that of the Trade Union Forum (consisting of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot trade unions). Turkish Cypriot organisations have their own umbrella organisation on similar lines.

New technology can promote dialogue and co-ordinate action not only across the Green Line but also across the globe. The military use technological advances in communication to divide and kill. Racists, nationalists and neo-nazis are using it to spread their own sinister aims. It is already being used for peace however and it has an enormous potential. This is the reason we set up the Forum Web site. The idea is to link up, communicate and discuss wherever groups or individuals are based: Britain, Canada, Greece, Turkey or Cyprus. The scope for better communication is immense.

The third and most difficult of problems is that of the barriers that have been erected. This is the greatest of all problems, as physical communication it destroys human communication and develops a siege mentality that undermines the commonalities between all Cypriots. National education systems can become ruthless machines dehumanising the 'other' and spreading ideologies of hate. The armies are even worse. Through the Internet we can provide for the melting down of some of these barriers, wherever one is located across the Green Line, across the seas and continents. Alternative education for peace can be provided via the Internet. The 'virtual world' is no alternative to the real thing; we would much rather have freedom, peace and work together face to face, but in the absence of that, we must utilise all opportunities to reach that point.



THE PSYCHOLOGY OF COMMUNITIES AND AN OFF-RECORD TRAGIC HISTORICAL STORY.

I would like to bring to attention a research of mine which was published in Northern Cyprus on 13-23 July, 1999.

This is a tragic story that occurred when I was a child; It is vividly on my mind but both Greeks and Turks incline to forget. In my research I made use of what people who lived through the incident recounted and also from both Greek and Turkish newspapers. I would like to thank some of the Greek Cypriot reporters who contributed their assistance in establishing the records of the day.

I would first dwell on the psychological aspect of the happening.

WHY TO FORGET:

The drive of disregard to understand the pain of the opposite community is the prime communal trauma. This is a different reflection of chauvinism and racism.

It will not be wrong to say that a modern people encircled with taboos and restrictions could be afflicted to maladies.

To remember all the wrong brought on to us by our enemies, but tend to forget ours becomes a distinctive characteristic.

The answer to this tendency is as follows:

Emotional reactions shown to some historical events stamped as taboos, and reactions emerging when these are reminded, is a defence mechanism. This emotional approach hinders the remembrance of such concepts of destruction, genocide and exile. The inclination to escape from the negative results that might creep from the recounting of the past event could be the aim in this.

This is a conscious approach of fleeing from one's own history.

As a result of shock and pains one lives through to forget and discharge history become natural outcomes. In such a situation people who lose their memory also lose their intelligence.

Over reacting to what past brings to the mind is a reason of the above argument.

The new personality thus created is the outcome of riddance of the history and becomes a spare sanctuary. We would not show such emotional reactions if we would have got rid of the past influence and showed the essential conscientious reflexes. Peoples and cultures that leave history in the past can only have access to it by remembering it and even can manage to reconstruct it.

To create and become aware of history, which still survives in our collective memories and to make an inventory of historical shocks which created painful discussions is what should consequently be performed. It is a recognition of one self and history.

Instead erasing the past from memory it has to be reconstructed.

In the light of my above explanation I can now tell you an off record Cyprus story.

AN UNOFFICIAL CYPRIOT STORY.

It was a hot day in July, 1967. There was a wedding ceremony in Koloni, a nearby village to Ktima on the main road. A large crowd of people were waiting to congratulate the couple on this happy occasion. Just at this time a Cypriot Greek, named Andreas Hristodoulos from the village of Steni, stopped his car on the side of the road and began firing on the people. A young Turkish man of 21 years of age, named Ergun Mehmet, and his grandmother of 80, Musteyde Ismail, were shot.

Ergun Mehmet was fatally wounded and died on the spot.

TURKISH RETALIATION.

The murder triggered incidents in retaliation. Evidence and facts established leads to Turkish Organization which planned and put into action retaliatory shootings causing innocent people to be shot at ambushes set by Turkish fighters. The murders that followed increased the mistrust and hatred between the two peoples eventually leading to the partition of the island.

The admission of the developments by the then intelligence agents is shuddering.

The Turkish leadership at their headquarter known as "white House", using the incident as an excuse to attack innocent Greeks ordered the execution team of Susuz village to ambush and shoot any Greek to be on the road that day. The team stopped a taxi coming from Gelegoras village and the passengers, a pregnant woman, his son on leave from his army unit and the driver were all shot and killed without mercy.

Although the execution was quickly became known, the Turkish leadership without taking into consideration the fate any Turk would encounter allowed the Turks in the ghetto to pass into the Greek side. I have credible information from the then agents that the Paphos Turkish leadership was tipped off that Eoka had planned to retaliate. But this was disregarded. The aim of the leadership is striking; those to pass were to be the victims of the murders. Those to be executed were to be evidence for the partition of the island.

What a veteran agent said to me is important from this point of view: "The aim was to create incidents in order to deepen the hatred between the two communities."

What Mr Denktash said in 1958 increases the credibility of the above statement. "We need these martyrs. The world will get to know what we are going through with these dead Turks." (from an article by Ahmet An, published in The Turkish Cyprus problem from past to present, 48-49 issue, Sosyalist Gercek, page 7)

Turks who unfortunately went over to the Greek quarter that day were captured and killed at unknown places.

Filelephtheros, one of the leading Greek Newspapers, gave great prominence to the incident. But the paper did not draw the attention of its readers to the connection of both incidents. The incident of the previous day at the village of Koloni was not cited either.

The same newspaper on 26th July 1968 commented on the developments as follows:

"The Public should receive the developments with common sense and keep calm.

How the happenings developed.

The murder of the pregnant woman, her son and the driver was received with anger at Paphos. Demonstrations were staged at the city centre. These reactions can cause graver situations.

The intervention of the police prevented further dangerous incidents. Demonstrations forced Mr Yorgadjis, The minister of Interior to come to Paphos. The Minister stressed that it was necessary to act accordingly to keep the peace and order and pointed that the fanatic Turkish leaders could provoke the people. Our local correspondent reported that the driver killed on Tuesday night at 9.00 p.m. was in charge of the Limassol taxi Office and had five children. The other two passengers were Andigoni Haralambou aged 40, from the Gelegora village and her son Pandelis was 21.

The three assassinated were killed with automatic rifles. The corpses were found within the boundaries of Holetriga village, situated between Stavrogonno and Holetriga villages."

Ahmet Tolgay, a columnist writing in the Bozkurt Newspaper in his article of 4th August, 1967 expressed the following views.

"In my article of 22nd July I analysed the developments and indicated that the Greeks were trying to find excuses for their bloody plans. The happenings that took place the following day were proof that we were correct; a Turkish young man was shot dead at the village of Koloni and two women were wounded."

The happening was also reflected in the Turkish newspapers as pointed by Bozkurt Newspaper.

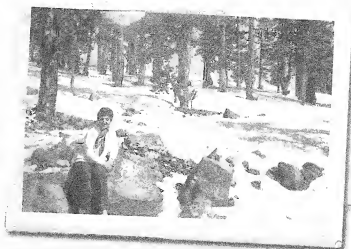
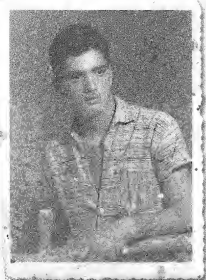
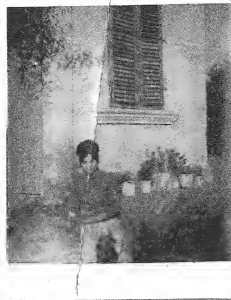
Cumhuriyet (2nd August 1967)

"The number of Turks killed in Cyprus as from 22nd July arose to seven."

HISTORY CAN BE REWRITTEN.

We observe that both communities have tried to conceal the mistakes they committed while stressing on the mistakes of the opposite community. History should be rewritten in the light of these. The new generations should be made aware of our mistakes in order they do not fall into the same traps.

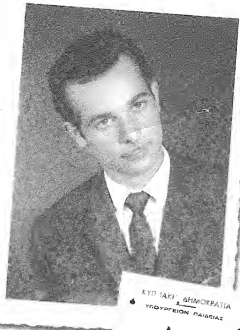




Οι φωτογραφίες αυτές
βρέθηκαν στη Μόρφου και
δόθηκαν στο ΧΑΤΕ. Οι
κάτοχοί τους μπορούν να τις
παραλάβουν από το περιοδικό.

Bu fotoğraflar Omorfo'da
bulunmuş ve HADE'ye teslim
edilmiştir. Sahipleri onları
dergimizden alabilirler.





ΚΥΤ ΛΑΕΥ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ
ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟΝ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ

Β' ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΟΝ ΜΟΡΦΟΥ

Επώνυμο: ΜΟΡΦΟΥ
Όνομα: ΜΑΡΙΑ
Ημερομηνία: 15/11/1938
Τοποθεσία: ΜΟΡΦΟΥ

ΒΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ ΑΠΟΛΥΤΗΝ

Επώνυμο: ΜΟΡΦΟΥ
Όνομα: ΜΑΡΙΑ
Ημερομηνία: 15/11/1938
Τοποθεσία: ΜΟΡΦΟΥ

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Το παρόν βιολογικόν απολυτήν εκδόθηκε υπό την εποπτείαν του Υπουργείου Παιδείας.

Επώνυμο: ΜΟΡΦΟΥ
Όνομα: ΜΑΡΙΑ
Ημερομηνία: 15/11/1938
Τοποθεσία: ΜΟΡΦΟΥ

